

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS B, (B MARGIN), E AND F OF BEN SIRA (1)

Abstract

The relationship between the Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira has long been a riddle for scholars. In this study, we would like to reassess the intricate question of the relationship between the Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira by limiting ourself to manuscripts E, F, B, including the margin of B. In conclusion, we will propose a reconstruction of a preliminary stemma of the Hebrew Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah.

THE relationship between the Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira has long been a riddle for scholars. In his seminal article on “The Evolution of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira” published in 1934, Moshe Segal came to the conclusion that: “the material provided by these short and fragmentary parallel passages is too scanty to enable us to establish a classification of the Hebrew Mss. on the basis of their textual character.” (2) Similarly, Paul Kahle noticed that “these manuscripts were not copied from each other, they contain various readings, and such kinds of readings which already existed in ancient times.” (3)

(1) It is my pleasure to offer this article to my colleague and friend Corrado Martone who started his academic carrier with a thesis on Ben Sira: *Sinossi del testo greco e ebraico dell'Ecclesiastico*. This article has been written in sign of gratitude for all the services he has rendered to the *Revue de Qumrân* in recent years and especially for his support and friendship. I also would like to thank Eric Reymond for correcting my English. This article has been written with the support of the ANR-DFG and MSH Lorraine Project PLURITEXT and the center of research Écritures EA3943 (Université de Lorraine).

(2) M. H. Segal, “The Evolution of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira,” *JQR* 25 (1934): 91–149, at 91. Later in the article Segal notes that “in spite of their numerous differences theses Mss. all belong to one and the same type of text.”

(3) P. Kahle, “The Age of the Scrolls,” *VT* 1 (1951): 38–48, at 47.

In this study, we would like to try to disentangle this problem of the interrelationship of MS B (including the MS B Margin, which though not its own manuscript, represents readings independent of those in the text of Ms B), (4) MS E and MS F. After some methodological considerations and a summary of a previous study that addresses this issue for MSS A, D, B, the MS B Margin, we will focus on the overlapping of manuscripts B, E and F in the following order: (a) We will first examine the variants between E and F (Sir 32:16 to 33:8). (b) Then, we will analyze the passages where MS B, the MS B margin, and MSS E and F overlap (Sir 32:16 to 33:3). (c) And, finally, we will focus on the overlapping verses of MS B, the MS B margin and MS F (Sir 31:24 to 32:15).

1. Methodological Remarks

Paul Maas's fundamental study of textual criticism, published in 1958, is based on the study of "errors" that arise in the course of transcription and that "are of decisive significance in the study of the interrelationships of manuscripts." (5) In this study, we will follow its very clear methodology based on two principles: (a) If two manuscripts have a monogenetic error against a third manuscript, i.e. an error that could not have occurred independently in two independent textual traditions, then these two manuscripts belong to the same textual line of transmission. In these cases, we will speak of conjunctive errors. (b) Conversely, if two manuscripts have independent errors, then these two manuscripts do not belong to the same text transmission line; in this case, we will speak of separative errors.

2. The Relationship between Manuscripts A, B, D and the Margin of MS B

In a preceding study, we used this method to trace back the relationship between MSS A, D, B and the B Margin, and came to the following conclusions: (6) (a) The marginal notations in MS B present a text

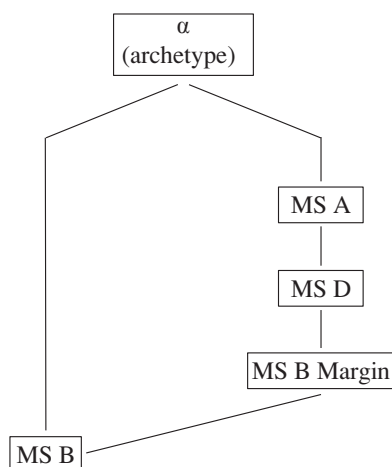
(4) Not all the marginal notes of MS B are of the same type: they have not been written sequentially and they do not all necessarily come from the same hand. In this study, I will only consider the notes written by the person whom we have designated as 'the Persian scribe' in a preceding study, see Jean-Sébastien Rey and Marieke Dhont, "Scribal Practices in Ben Sira Manuscript B. Codicological Reconstruction and Material Typology of Marginal Readings," in *Discovering, Deciphering and Dissenting: Ben Sira Manuscripts after 120 Years*, ed. James K. Aitken, Renate Egger-Wenzel, and Stefan C. Reif (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 97–124.

(5) Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 42.

(6) Jean-Sébastien Rey, "The Relationship Between Manuscripts A, B, D and the Marginal Readings of Manuscript B of Ben Sira," *Journal of Jewish Studies* (forthcoming).

that is very similar to MS D with numerous conjunctive errors demonstrating that they belong to the same family over against MS B. Yet, the MS B Margin presents errors that are not attested in MS D, and consequently, should be viewed as later in the process of transmission. (b) The new folio of MS D discovered by Sarah Cohen and published by Michael Rand and Elizur Shulamit in 2011 (7) partially overlaps with MS A creating a connection between these two manuscripts. MSS D and A have quasi-similar texts. Both contain conjunctive errors over against MS C, the Greek and/or the Syriac. MS D presents a few errors that are not attested in A and, consequently, should be viewed as later in the process of transmission. (c) In a very logical way, the B Margin mainly agrees with MS A. Here again, we observe cases of conjunctive errors over against MS B, the Greek and the Syriac.

Based on these observations, we have been able to construe the following stemma codicum:



3. History of Scholarship

MSS E and F have received little attention from researchers. (8) MS E was published in 1931 by Joseph Marcus who already made

(7) Michael Rand and Shulamit Elizur, "A New Fragment of the Book of Ben Sira," *DSD* 18 (2011): 200–205.

(8) J. Marcus, "A Fifth MS. of Ben Sira," *JQR* 21 (1931): 223–40; A. Scheiber, "A Leaf of the Fourth Manuscript of the Ben Sira," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 98 (1982): 179–85; A. A. Di Lella, "The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza," *Biblica* 69 (1988): 226–38; P.C. Beentjes, "The Hebrew Texts of Ben Sira 32[35].16–33[36].2," in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the*

interesting observations concerning the relationship of MS E with MS B. He noticed that, as MS D, MS E presents similarities with the marginal readings of MS B and, consequently, that MSS D and E should be related in some way.

“In the 11 distichs of MS. E which overlap MS. B, thus providing a second text against that of MS. B, the variants are very slight, agreeing mostly with the margin of B. In this respect it resembles MS. D, which also agrees with the margin of B. This leads to the supposition that the text before us is similar to the text used by the Persian glossator who added the marginal readings in MS. B. Our text may therefore also be of Persian provenance. One distich found in MS. B is missing in our MS. and one is misplaced.” (9)

He also noticed that, as MS B (and MS F and Masada now), the text is written stichometrically and is free from doublets. (10)

In 1982, Scheiber published a new folio of Ben Sira that he erroneously considered as a folio of MS D. (11) A few years later, Di Lella (12) republished the fragment under the shelf mark “MS F” as it was clearly a new unknown copy of Ben Sira. Concerning the relationship of this new MS with the others, Di Lella made the following observations:

“As could be expected, MS F contains many readings that differ from MSS B and E. But MSS E and F are definitely related in some way, for they have many (often peculiar) readings in common, and both omit 32,23 and 33,3, which are extant in MS B, and give 33,1 before 32,24, whereas MS B has the correct (Greek) order of these verses. Though it is unlikely that MS F was copied from MS E, or vice versa, it is certain that both manuscripts derive from a common ancestor. The scribe of MS F made at least two certain errors: as the second word of 32,3a he wrote *šebet*

Mishnah, Held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 53–67; Haim Dihi, “Linguistic Innovation in Ben Sira Manuscript F,” in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Fifth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira, Jointly Sponsored by the Eliezer Ben-Yehuda Center for the Study of the History of the Hebrew Language, 29–31 December, 2008*, ed. S. Fassberg, M. Bar-Asher, and R. Clements, STDJ 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 29–45; J. Liesen, “A Common Background of Ben Sira and the Psalter. The Concept of תורה in Sir 32:14–33:3 and the Torah Psalms,” in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology*, ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia, DCLS 1 (Berlin: Gruyter, 2008), 197–207.

(9) Marcus, “A Fifth MS. of Ben Sira,” 225.

(10) Marcus, “A Fifth MS. of Ben Sira,” 223–24.

(11) Scheiber, “A Leaf of the Fourth Manuscript of the Ben Sira.”

(12) Di Lella, “The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza.”

instead of *śāb kî*, the correct reading that is found in MS B^{txt} and is supported by Greek and Latin (Syriac omits the verse); and in 32,5a² (= 2nd form of the verse) he wrote *zhwb* instead of *zhb*, found in MS B and reflected in Greek, Latin, and Syriac.” (13)

Both Di Lella’s and Marcus’s observations contain several factual errors. In this article we would like to take these initial findings further in an attempt to establish a clearer stemma of Ben Sira’s Hebrew manuscripts.

4. The Relationships between MSS E and F

4.1. *The Perfect Agreement between MSS E and F*

Di Lella and Haim Dihi were mistaken when they said that “MS F contains many readings that differ from MSS B and E.” (14) While it is true that MSS E and F differ from MS B, it is wrong to suggest that MS E differs from MS F. Indeed, out of the 32 stichs where the two manuscripts overlap, they are perfectly identical except for two minor orthographic variants—MS F presenting a more *plene* script than MS E. (15)

The reasons for Di Lella’s mistake are mainly due to the fact that the edition of MS E predates the discovery of MS F and, consequently, readings and restorations of MS E were largely influenced by the text of MS B. Based on new multispectral photographs and the comparison of MSS E and F, several readings have been revised. Systematically, the new readings demonstrate the agreement of MS E and MS F against MS B. (16) For example, in Sir 32:20, Marcus and Di Lella read פְּעֻמִּים in MS E, in agreement with MS B. However, a close look at the manuscript shows clearly that this reading is impossible for the available space (the *soph passuq* is clearly visible) and the reading נִנְיָ in agreement with MS F must be preferred (the final *pe* is discernable on the new multispectral images of this manuscript, *nun* and *gimel* would fit the faint traces of ink). The same type of problem is encountered with the restoration of the missing part of the text. In Sir 32:18, MS B reads: יִשְׁמַר חֲכָמָה (the word *חֲכָמָה* being corrected to *חֲכָמָה* in the margin). This reading is supported by the Greek (Ἀνῆρ

(13) Di Lella, “The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza,” 228.

(14) Di Lella, “The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza,” 228; Dihi, “Linguistic Innovation in Ben Sira Manuscript F,” 31.

(15) The two variants are the following: Sir 32:18, יִשְׁמַר MS F *versus* יִשְׁמַר MS E and Sir 33:1, בְּנִיסִי MS F *versus* בְּנִיסִי MS E.

(16) Our readings are based on the new critical edition of the Hebrew manuscripts that Eric Reymond and myself are coauthoring.

βουλῆς) and the Syriac (ܒܘܠܥܐ ܨܚܝܬܐ), while MS F has a shorter form **איש לא יכסה חכמה**. MS E only preserves the end of the sentence: **סֵה חכמה:** []. The lacuna of MS E has been restored by Marcus according to the text of MS B but a restoration of the missing letters demonstrates clearly that the reading of MS B is too long for the available space and a restoration according to the text of MS F is much more likely. Of course, in such a case, we cannot prove that the text of MS E was similar to MS F, but we can prove that the text of MS E was not the same as MS B.

4.2. *Conjunctive Error*

Beside the fact that MSS E and F are both written in stichometry, both present some revealing other (and surprising) similarities. In Sir 33:2, for example, both of them show the same supralinear word at the end of the line.

MS F: **אִנִּי: וּמִתְמוֹטֵט כְּמַסְעָרָה** “and he is the one who tossed about his ear like a storm”

MS E: **אִנִּי: וּמִתְמוֹטֵט כְּמַסְעָרָה** “and he is the one who tossed about his ear like a storm”

MS B: **אִנִּי: וּמִתְמוֹטֵט כְּמִסְעָרָה אֲנִי** “and he is the one who tossed about a ship like a storm”

LXX: ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐν αὐτῷ ὥς ἐν καταιγίδι πλοῖον.

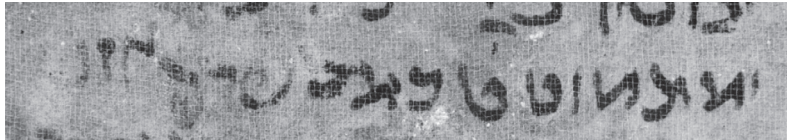


Fig. 1 – Sir 33:2 in MS E

(ENA 3597 recto, photo: J.-S. Rey, Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary)

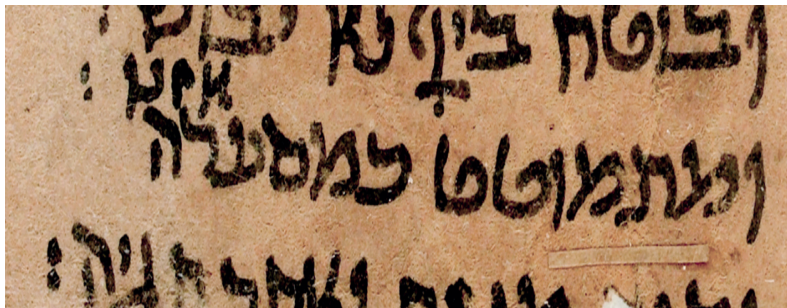


Fig. 2 – Sir 33:2 in MS F (TS AS 213.17 verso, Cambridge University Library)

Two points must be noticed: (a) Both manuscripts wrote the word above the line though the scribe would have had the available space to write it at the end of the line (in both cases the supralinear writing is not corrective as it contains the *soph passuq*). (b) Both manuscripts share a common monogenetic error whose etiology is easily reconstructed: אֲנִי < אֲנִי < אֲנִי. Indeed, the word אֲנִי which is most probably preserved in MS B is demanded by the Greek translation and the context.

Argument 1 – In conclusion, MS E and MS F are perfectly similar and do not present any clear variants. Consequently, it is not possible to distinguish them in a stemmatic diagram and we have to consider them as one unique group of witnesses.

5. The Relationships between MSS B, E and F: Monogenetic Errors and Separative Errors

The most crucial part of our argument is based on the overlapping verses of MSS B, E and F: Sir 32:16–33:3.

5.1. Structural Monogenetic Errors Common to MSS B, E and F

J. Marcus was mistaken when he said that MS E is free of doublets that characterize MS B. Indeed, the three MSS B, E and F present doublets in verses 16 and 18 that are absent from the Greek and Syriac translations. Since it cannot be imagined that these doublets were part of the original and that Greek and Syriac deleted them independently, it is necessary to conclude that—**argument 2**—, at some point in the textual history, MSS B, E, and F derive from a common archetype historically subsequent to the Greek and Syriac translations (i.e. the doublets were composed after these translations).

5.2. Structural Monogenetic Errors Common to MSS E and F Against B

Adversely, MS B presents a doublet in verses 21 and 22 which is absent from E and F and the ancient Greek and Syriac translations. This doublet therefore occurred independently of MSS E and F at a later stage of the transmission. Moreover, as already noticed by Di Lella, MSS E and F present clear structural monogenetic errors. Verses 32:23 and 33:3 present in MS B and the Greek are missing in MSS E and F and both displace Sir 33:1 between 32:22 and 32:24 (instead of verse 23). Consequently, we are forced to consider that—**argument 3**— MSS E and F depend on a common hyparchetype which is independent of MS B.

5.3. *When MSS E and F Agree with MS B Margin against MS B:*
Sir 32:17

	Chapter 32 MS B		Chapter 32 MS E		Chapter 32 MS F
וְיֵאָחֵר לְמִשׁוֹד	17 חמס ⁶ אִישׁ חֲמֵס יִטָּה תּוֹכַחַת וְאַחֵר צָרְכּוֹ יִמְשֹׁךְ תּוֹרָה:		17 ³ אִישׁ חֲמֵס [יִטָּה תּוֹכַחַת: וְאַחֵר צָרְכּוֹ לְמִשְׁךְ תּוֹרָה:		17 ⁷ אִישׁ חֲמֵס יִטָּה תּוֹכַחַת-תּוֹרָה: וְאַחֵר צָרְכּוֹ לְמִשְׁךְ
	18 חכמה ⁷ אִישׁ חֲכָם לֹא יִכְסֶה כְּחָמָה לֵץ לֹא יִשְׁמֹר לְשׁוֹנוֹ: ⁸ אִישׁ חֲכָם לֹא יִקַּח שָׁחַד זָד וְלֵץ לֹא יִשְׁמֹר תּוֹרָה:		18 ⁴ אִישׁ לֹא יִטָּה חֲכָמָה: וְלֵץ לֹא יִשְׁמֹר לְשׁוֹנוֹ: ⁵ אִישׁ חֲמֵס [לֹא יִקַּח שָׁכַל: זָד וְלֵץ לֹא יִקַּח מִצּוּה:		18 ⁸ אִישׁ לֹא יִכְסֶה חֲכָמָה-וְלֵץ לֹא יִשְׁמֹר לְשׁוֹנוֹ: ⁹ אִישׁ חֲמֵס לֹא יִקַּח שָׁכַל-זָד וְלֵץ לֹא יִקַּח מִצּוּה:
		אִישׁ חֲכָם לֹא יִקַּח שָׁחַד			
		זָד וְלֵץ לֹא יִשְׁמֹר תּוֹרָה:			
		אִישׁ חֲכָם לֹא יִקַּח שָׁחַד			

1. 32:17a. The case of the variant **חכמ** in MS B versus **חמס** in MS F[E?] and B margin is difficult to solve. The Greek translation, ἀνθρωπος ἀμαρτωλός, clearly supports **אִישׁ חֲמֵס** of MS F[E?] and MS B margin (cf. Sir 10:23 (17); 13:13 and 15:12). The Syriac does not use **ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ** which would be the perfect equivalent of **אִישׁ חֲכָם** as it does in the next verse, (18) but instead **ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ** which would nevertheless support the reading of MS B though the word **ܡܚܟܐ** may also bear a negative connotation (see, for example, Gen 3:1). Let us simply note for the moment the agreement between MS F[E] and B margin.

2. 32:17b. The variants of Sir 32:17b offer an important clue. While MS B has **וְאַחֵר צָרְכּוֹ יִמְשֹׁךְ תּוֹרָה**, “And he forces the law to suit his necessity,” MSS E, F and MS B margin have **וְיֵאָחֵר צָרְכּוֹ לְמִשְׁךְ תּוֹרָה**, “And he holds his necessity back to acquire the law,” which gives the verse a totally different meaning. Without going into the difficult interpretation of this verse, it is sufficient for the argument to simply point out that the Greek (καὶ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ἐδύρῃσει σύγκριμα) and Syriac (ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ) clearly agree with the reading of MS B against MSS E, F and the MS B margin. We must conclude, therefore, that these three witnesses share a monogenetic variant and that, consequently, all the three depend on the same hyparchetype.

(17) It must be noted that the same situation is attested in Sir 10:23, where the word **חמס** in MS B (see perhaps the Greek ἀμαρτωλόν and the Syriac ܡܚܟܐ) correspond to **ܡܚܟܐ** in MS A.

(18) In 32:18, De Lagarde’s edition read **ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ**, while the Ambrosianus codex read **ܡܚܟܐ ܡܚܟܐ**.

3. The complex textual situation of Sir 32:18 presents a similar case. The verse is reproduced three times in MS B: first as a doublet and second as a marginal note. In MSS E and F, the verse is preserved as a doublet. But curiously, if the first form of the doublet agrees with the text of MS B (except for the absence of the word **הכם** in MSS E and F) and with the Syriac, the second form of the verse does not agree with the doublet of MS B but with the alternative variant found in the B margin. These three witnesses offer a singular version of the verse that is perfectly coherent, but which does not agree with MS B, nor with the Greek or Syriac, and for this reason must necessarily belong to the same textual family.

Argument 4—These two cases demonstrate that MSS E, F and the MS B margin belong to the same textual family against MS B.

6. Tracking Variants between MS F and the B Margin

The analysis can be pushed forward by examining the relationship between MSS F, B and the B margin, in the verse where MSS B and F overlap. We have selected two examples that are relevant for our stemmatic reconstruction.

6.1. When MS F and MS B Agree against the Erroneous MS B Margin

In Sir 31:26b MS F agrees with MS B, the Greek and the Syriac against the B margin. MSS F and B read :

כור בוחן מעשה לוטש כן היין למצות לצים

“As the furnace tests the work of the sharpener,
thus wine (tests) the quarrel of the mockers.”

Alternatively, the B margin presents a clearly corrupted text, and these corruptions are perfectly explainable by graphic confusion:

כור ביתן מעשה לוטש כי היית מצות לצים

“As the palace of the work of the sharpener, because you were the quarrel of the mockers.”

If MSS E, F and MS B margin belong to the same textual family (see argument 4), this last separative error (19) implies two possible stemmatic solutions:

(19) Similar cases of separative errors are found in Sir 31:27 (MS F **מראשית** versus MS B margin **מארשית**).



The first hypothesis is the correct one if, and only if, we do not have any errors in MS F against MS B that are not found in the MS B margin. Conversely, the second hypothesis is the correct one if, and only if, we find at least one error in MS F against MS B that is not found in the MS B margin.

6.2. When MS F and the MS B Margin Present Two Different Errors against MS B

The fascinating example of Sir 32:3 must be noted:

MS B reads: מלל שב כי הוא לך “speak, old one, because it is yours (= because it is your privilege).” This reading corresponds to the Greek translation: Λάλησον, πρεσβύτερε (the Syriac is missing for this verse).

The MS B margin provides here two readings, both being clearly erroneous: the first, סבכי (Aramaic סבכא “harp?” סבך “thicket?” סבך “net? curtain?”), and the second, שבכי הולך. Both readings can only be understood as the result of an inaccurate division of the words and orthographic variants, respectively שב כי and לו הו. (20)

Alternatively, MS F offers a curious reading: מלל שבט הוא לך “speak, tribe, it is yours,” which does not make sense in context and is clearly erroneous. The reading שבט is, however, easily explained as the result of the combination of two phenomena: (a) The inaccurate division of words, שבכי as attested in the MS B margin, and (b) the misreading of the two letters *kaph* and *yod* as a *tet*, which is understandable

(20) Thus Norbert Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902), 125. For לו in place of הוא, see also Sir 15:19, the correction הו in Sir 14:9 and the fem. pron. הו in 7:15. This spelling of the personal pronoun הוא is attested in Aramaic (See T. Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, vol. 32 of *Handbuch der Orientalistik* [Leiden: Brill, 1998], §5j, §11, 31, 43; Ingo Kottsieper, *Die Sprache der Achiqarsprüche*, vol. 194 of *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990], 89–93) as well as in Hebrew (see, for example, in the Copper Scroll [3Q15 X 10 and XI 7] and in 1Q20 XX 29).

in semi-cursive script (see fig. 3). A confirmation of this error may be found two lines down, in Sir 32:5, where the scribe made the same exact error by confusing the succession *kaph-yod* with a *tet* in misreading *כיס זהב* “purse of gold” as *טס זהב* “plate of gold.” (21)

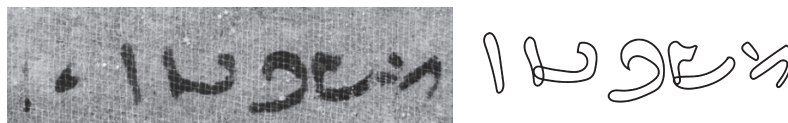
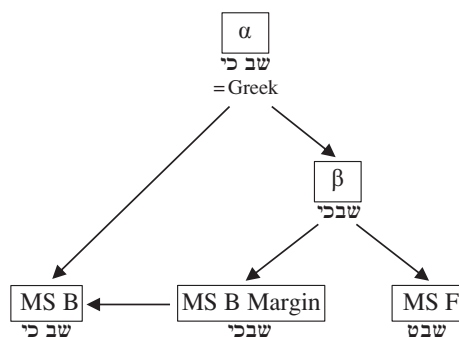


Fig. 3 – *משפטו* in MS E, Sir 32:16 (ENA 3597 recto, line 2).
The *tet*, written in two movements, can easily be confused with a *kaph* and a *yod* and vice versa.

The two disjunctive variants of MS F and of MS B margin allow us to reconstruct the history of the transmission of the text and, consequently, to reconstruct the stemma: a first form of the text included *כי שב* that we find in MS B and in Greek. A hyperarchetype included the reading *שבכי* with an erroneous word division. It is this reading that we find in MS B margin. Finally, another scribe copied the same hyperarchetype but confused the letters *kaph* and *yod* with a *tet*, mistakenly writing the word *שבט*. This is the reading we find in MS F. **Argument 5**—This variant in MS F is not attested in MS B margin and forces us to consider that these two witnesses belong to two independent branches of the stemma. The result can be illustrated by the following stemma:



(21) MS B has *ניב*, where the MS B margin has two readings *זיב* and *נוב*, but the scribe of MS F copied by homoioteleuton the words of the preceding line *כיס זהב* misread in *טס זהב*.

7. Conclusion

Our analysis allows us, now, to see more clearly the history of the textual tradition of Ben Sira's Hebrew manuscripts and how they are interrelated to each other.

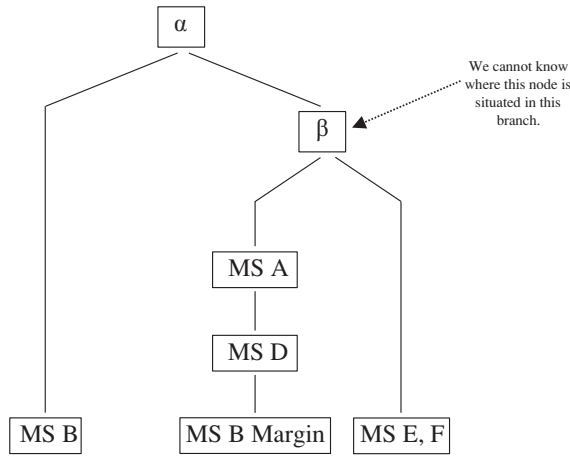
(1) On the basis of the preserved fragments, MSS E and F are perfectly similar and share common monogenetic errors; consequently, they must be very close in the stemma. In the state of our knowledge, it is not possible to distinguish one from the other.

(2) These two witnesses share common errors with MS B margin, involving, as for MSS A and D, a genealogical link.

(3) Nevertheless, MS B margin and MS F each presents separative errors implying that both belong to two independent branches of the stemma though depending from the same hyperarchetype.

(4) Since the variants between the MS B margin and MSS E and F are more important than the variants between the MS B margin and the MSS A and D, it is necessary to assume the existence of several intervals between copies.

(5) Finally, by combining the first stemma (see §2) with the new one, we can reconstruct the following global stemma:



In conclusion, we can now know that we do not have six independent textual witnesses of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira (MSS A, B, the B Margin, D, E and F) as assumed in the past. Rather, there are only two recensions: on one side MS B and, on the other side, the recension including MSS A, D, the B Margin, E and F. At this stage of our knowledge, and with no overlap between the group MSS A, D and the group

MSS E and F, it is not possible to know the relationship between these two groups, the only point of contact being the MS B margin.

This study has made some steps toward solving the great puzzle that is the history of the transmission of the Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira. It may open interesting consequences for future analysis:

- First, it is not our intention to raise the hope that this stemmatic classification of the witnesses will allow us to reconstruct the original text of Ben Sira. Yet, it is crucial for understanding the process of transmission and evolution from antiquity to the medieval period, as well as the scribal practices within this process.
- Second, this study gives a new perspective on these different Hebrew texts and their relationship to the ancient Greek, Syriac and Latin translations.
- Third, it remains to work out how Masada and the anthology of MS C connect to this preliminary stemma.

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4Q30 (4QDEUT^c): FRAGMENTS, VARIANTS, TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

Abstract

This note offers new textual identifications of several 4Q30 fragments. It discusses the textual variants of 4Q30 primarily to explore the relation between variants and modes of textual transmission in the manuscript.

MOST of the Qumran Cave 4 biblical manuscripts were published in the 1990s, largely based on the foundational work of scholars in the 1950s. At present, a quarter of a century later, many of these editions have become outdated, with respect to the readings, reconstructions, and also the interpretations. First, they are based on what we now consider to be antiquated models of textual criticism and textual transmission. Second, at present we have access to much better photographs than the earlier editors from the 1950s to the 1990s. The superb Israel Antiquities Authority photographs not only enable improvements on the readings, but also facilitate the identification of hitherto unidentified fragments. In addition, computerized tools that make it easier to materially reconstruct manuscripts have been developed over the past years, though in many cases the state of the remains of manuscripts resist accurate reconstruction. The present article focuses on new or improved textual identifications and on the interpretation of the textual variants in one of those Cave 4 biblical manuscripts, 4Q30.

The 1995 official edition of the preserved fragments of the Qumran Cave 4 manuscript 4Q30 (4QDeut^c) includes fifty-five fragments whose text was identified with a specific section of Deuteronomy, and eleven fragments which the original team of editors associated with 4QDeut^c on the basis of the handwriting, but whose text had not yet

been identified. (1) Subsequently, a few of those unidentified fragments were tentatively identified. (2) The present contribution offers new identifications, both of some fragments that had previously been identified, and of several of the hitherto non-identified ones. These identifications do not change the general interpretation of the manuscript, but they do affect the lists of variants of the manuscript. The large number of purportedly insignificant variants requires an explanation of the textual transmission and profile of the manuscript. It is a pleasure to dedicate this study to Corrado Martone, a dear colleague ever since we first met in Groningen, and a staunch critic of taking the Masoretic Text as a reference point.

1 New Identifications of Previously Identified 4Q30 Fragments

1.1 4Q30 Frags. 4+17–18 (Deut 12:18–19)

The editor's identification of 4Q30 frag. 4 with Deut 7:3–4 is incorrect. The new photographs on the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library hosted by the Israel Antiquities Authority clearly show that there is a space before בִּנְךָ, thus excluding לְבִנְךָ. Apparently, the identification with Deut 7:3–4 was prompted by reading the last letter of the first line as *kaph*, rather than *bet*, probably on account of its narrow head and its “broken” downstroke. The editor's identification of the few letters of the first line with Deut 7:3–4 required the assumption of the variant אֱלֹהֵי־כֶם for יְהוָה in Deut 7:4.

Yet, material evidence proves that the edition's identification is wrong. 4Q30 frag. 4 joins perfectly with 4Q30 frag. 17, thus giving the following reading of frags. 4+17

top margin

] בִּנְךָ בְּתֶךְ]	1
] אֱלֹהֵיךְ בְּכָל]	2
]ֹה[]ֹה[	3

(1) Sidnie White Crawford, “30. 4QDeut^c,” in *Qumran Cave 4.IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, ed. Eugene Ulrich et al., DJD 14 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 13–34, esp. 33.

(2) Ulrich Dahmen, “Neu identifizierte Fragmente in den Deuteronomium-Handschriften vom Toten Meer,” *RevQ* 20/80 (2002): 571–81, esp. 576–77; see also Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer: Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 87–88, and in English in Lange, “Ancient, Late Ancient, and Early Medieval Manuscript Evidence,” in *The Hebrew Bible. Volume 1B: Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 43.

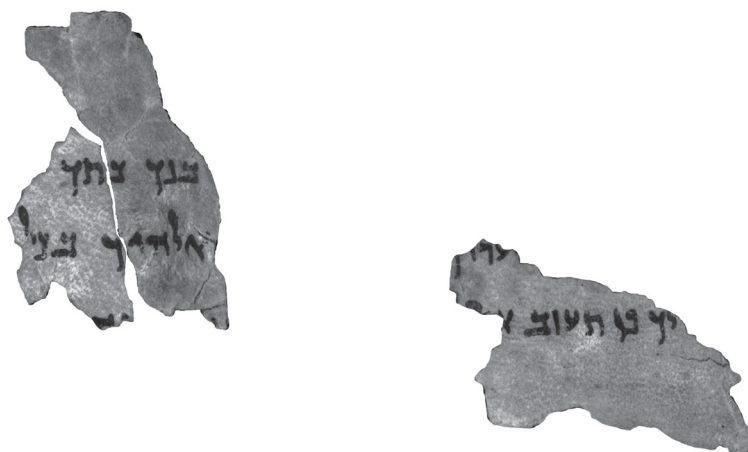


Figure 1: 4Q30 frags. 4 (right) and 17 (left), and distant join with frag. 18 LLDSSDL Plate 243, frags. 1, 10, and 11; photos Shai Halevi

The reading **בנך בתך** is not attested in MT Deuteronomy, which always connects those words with a conjunction (**בנך ובתך** or **בנך או ובתך**), but it is found in 4Q41 (4QDeut^m) 3:12 (Deut 5:14). The sequence of the words of lines 1 and 2 only occurs in Deut 12:18, and this identification had been given by the editor for frags. 17–18. The wording of frag. 18 **לך פן תשוב את** is only attested in Deut 12:18, so that one should combine this with frags. 4+17. Since frag. 4 preserves the top margin, the uninscribed bottom part of frag. 18 cannot be interpreted as the bottom margin. It rather is an uninscribed interval in the fourth line of the column, marking the end of a section, and corresponding to the *setumah* of the Masoretic tradition. (3) I therefore transcribe 4Q30 frags. 4+17–18 (Deut 12:18–19) as follows:

top margin

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | [במקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך בו אתה] בנך בתך [ועבדך ואמתך] |
| 2 | [והלוי אשר ב]שעריך [ושמחת לפני יהוה] אלהיך בכל [משלה ידך] |
| 3 | [¹⁹ השמר] לך פן תשוב את [הלוי כל ימך על ה'א[ד]מה] [vacat] |
| 4 |] vacat [vacat] |

This join of frags. 4 and 17 provides two new variants, namely the unique absence of the conjunction “and” in Deut 12:18 before both **בנך** and **בתך**. As will be discussed below (4.1), variants in lists of juxtaposed items are not infrequent in this manuscript.

(3) A similarly large interval of about half a line is attested in frags. 32 i, 33 line 6, and perhaps in frags. 26–27 line 1.

The editor had already suggested on the basis of the ה in frag. 17 line 3 that the manuscript had read here האדמה (together with the versions) rather than MT and SP אדמתך. The proposal is plausible, but the new traces provided by the join with frag. 4 are too limited to confirm this reading.

1.2 4Q30 Frag. 6 (Deut 10:10–11)

The editor identified the text of the fragment with Deut 9:11–12 without attempting to reconstruct the lines. However, if one restores the lacunas in these lines with the MT text of Deut 9:11–12, then the lines are of very uneven length, so that one would have to assume a substantial variant or a large vacat. See the following restoration on the basis of Deut 9:11–12 MT):

אֱלֹהִי	]	1
את שני לוחות האבנים לחות הברית ²¹ ויאמר יהוה אלי	]	2
קום רד מהר מזה כי שחת עמך	]	3

A restoration based on the shorter text of Deut 9:11–12 (SP) would result in lines of equal length, but the lines would be shorter than elsewhere in the manuscript.

אֱלֹהִי	]	1
את שני לוחות הברית ¹² ויאמר יהוה אלי	]	2
קום רד מהר מזה כי שחת עמך	]	3

Such a narrow column would not be impossible at the end of a sheet, but it is easier to adopt an alternative identification of frag. 6 with Deut 10:10–11, resulting in somewhat longer lines that are common in the manuscript.

אֱלֹהִי	]	1
גם בפעם ההוא לא אבה יהוה השחיתך ¹¹ ויאמר יהוה אלי	]	2
קום לך למסע לפני העם ויבאו וירשו את הארץ אשר	]	3

1.3 4Q30 Frag. 9 (Deut 16:4–5)

The edition hesitantly identified the fragment with Deut 9:29–10:2, admitting that “it contains variants not found in any of the other witnesses.” (4) The problems of identifying the fragment are solved if one reads בעת[ש], with abraded *šin*, or rather בעת/ש with an erasure

(4) White Crawford, “30. 4QDeut,” 19.

between the remains of *šin* and *bet*, (5) rather than **בעת** of the edition. One can identify the fragment with Deut 16:4–5:

- 1 [חייך⁴ ולא יראה לך שאר בכל גבלך] שׁ/בַּעַת [ימים ולא]
 2 [ילין מן הבשר אשר תזבח בערב] בָּיֹם הראשון [לבקר⁵ לא]
 3 [תוכל לזבח את הפסח באחד שערי] אֶשְׂרֵיהוּה [אלהיך]

The fragment is presently not on the 4Q30 IAA plates, nor on any of the other plates which have been recently photographed. (6) Therefore, one has to rely on the 1950s photographs (PAM 42.705 and 43.067) which do not enable one to interpret with full confidence details of the surface (before *bet* in line 1 an erasure, abrasion, or a space?). Materially, the fragment can be placed immediately above frag. 32 col. i line 1 which continues the text of Deut 16:5–6:

- 1 [נתן לך⁶ כי אם אל המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך] לשכן שמו

1.4 4Q30 Frag. 25 Col. i (Deut 23:14)

The editor questioned the join of the two pieces, which were already joined on PAM 42.705. The new photographs show more clearly that the piece which is labelled frag. 25 col. i (which I refer to as frag. 25a) preserves text which is only attested in Deut 23:14:

- 1 [ויתד תהיה]

This confirms the editor's doubts about the original join, and the two pieces should be separated. The piece which is labelled frag. 25 vol. ii (which I refer to as frag. 25b) in the edition may be identified, with the editor, with Deut 13:16.

1.5 4Q30 Frag. 27 (Deut 30:7 or 31:2?)

The join between frags. 26 and 27 in the edition is incorrect. Neither the two sections of final *kaph* on frags. 26 and 27, nor the edges of the fragments join well. Moreover, this join imposes an impossible right margin on the text of frag. 26: the edition's reconstruction of the first words of the lines results in a very uneven margin. (7) Fragment 27 must therefore derive from another section of the scroll. Since the fragment

(5) Proposed by one of the reviewers. Given the confusion between "six" and "seven" days in this section (see Deut 16:8), the scribe may have begun writing "six" (שש), then continued with "seven" and erased the second *šin*.

(6) White Crawford still examined the fragment in the 1980s, but it was not found on the 4Q30 plates during the 1994 inventory of fragments.

(7) For example, in this reconstruction לא in line 4 should have been written in the same amount of space required for י ואשר in line 5.

preserves the bottom right part of a column, a possible location would be one or two columns to the left of frag. 53.

2 Unidentified Fragments: 4Q30 Frags. 56–66

Nine of the unidentified fragments (all but frags. 64 and 66) are placed at the bottom of the IAA Plate 238. Identifications can be considered plausible if they have a unique combination of letters corresponding to MT or SP (frags. 62, 63) and certain when they can be joined materially and textually to other fragments (frag. 57).

2.1 4Q30 Frag. 56 (Deut 31:7?)—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 15

The exact combination of letters on this fragment is not found in Deuteronomy according to the Masoretic or Samaritan text. The first letter of the second line is damaged, and might be either final *mem* or final *kaph*. The fragment certainly belongs to 4Q30, but apparently contains a variant not attested elsewhere.

The combination of letters is closest to that found in Deut 31:7, which, however has **את העם הזה**. One might cautiously consider a variant such as **עמך** (perhaps influenced by **עמך**, “with you,” in Deut 31:6 and 8; cf. also Deut 9:12 **עמך אשר הוצאת** or **עמך הזה** (8) for **העם הזה**). In that case one may reconstruct the lines for example as follows:

[וִיקְרָא מֹשֶׁה לַיהוָשֻׁעַ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו לְעֵינֵי כָל יִשְׂרָאֵל]	0
[חֹזֶק וְאַמֶּץ כִּי אַתָּה תָּבוֹא (9) אֶת עַמְּךָ אֶל הָאָרֶץ]	1
[אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם לֵאמֹר לְתֶת [לָהֶם וְאַתָּה תִּנְחִילָנָה]	2

This results in lines that are somewhat shorter than elsewhere in the manuscript, also shorter than the (reconstructed) lines of frags. 54–55 col. i which would be in the same column, if the identification is correct. This shows that it remains tenuous to reconstruct entire lines with variants.

2.2 4Q30 Frag. 57 (Deut 31:16)—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 22

One should join the fragment to the top right of frag. 54 (Deut 31:16) (fig. 2). The bottom of the fragment forms a perfect join with the top of line 2 **שמה**, which piece has now broken off from frag. 57 (fig. 2). (10) With frag. 57 one can read 4Q30 frags. 54–55 col. i lines 1–2 as follows:

(8) That kind of grammatical construct, **הזה** qualifying a suffixed noun, is very rare, but see **עמך הזה** in 1 Chron 1:10.

(9) Or **תביא** with the Samaritan Pentateuch.

(10) This small piece of frag. 54 line 2 with the letters **שמה** has broken off into two pieces, which are numbered Plate 238 frags. 13 and 23 in the Leon Levy Dead Sea

1 א[בֹּתִיךָ וְקָם הָעָם הַזֶּה וּזְנָה אַחֲרַי]
2 [שָׁמָּה בִּקְרָבוֹ וְעֻזְבוֹנִי וְהִפְרוּ אֶת] בְּרִי[תִי]

Just as in 4Q30 frag. 5 line 4 (Deut 8:3), the word אבֹּתִיךָ is written with *waw*. In specific morphological forms, such as plurals on *-ōt*, infinitives of לִי verbs, and the object particle with suffixes, the preserved fragments of 4Q30 consistently express *ō* with *waw* as *mater lectionis*. (11)

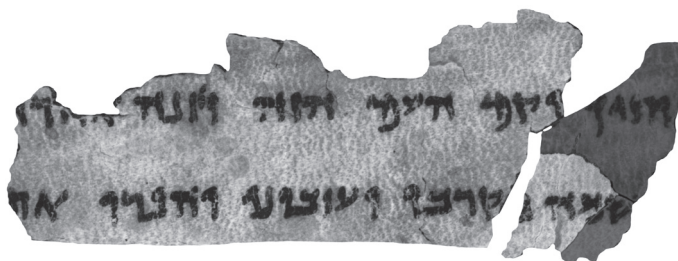


Figure 2: Join of 4Q30 frag. 54 lines 1–2 + frag. 57
LLDSSDL Plate 238, frags. 8 (top right), 13, 22, and 23; photos Shai Halevi

2.3 4Q30 Frag. 58 (Deut 27:26?)—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 24

The fragment can be placed in the gap in 4Q30 frags. 43–45 col. i line 4. However, this placement does not result in a neat physical join, and therefore, given the frequent occurrence of the letters כל ה, cannot be considered entirely certain. I read 4Q30 frags. 43–45 col. i + 58 line 4 as follows:

4] הוֹאֵת לָ[עֲשֹׂה וְאֵת אוֹתָם וְאָמְרוּ כָל הָעָם אִמֵּן

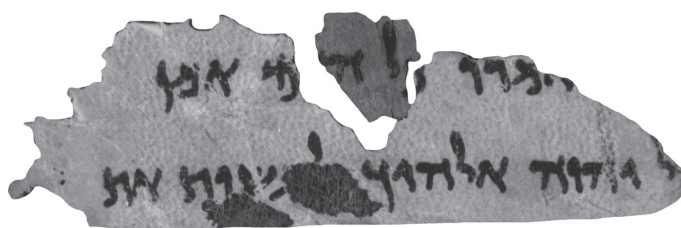


Figure 3: Possible Join of 4Q30 45 col. i (section of lines 1–2) + frag. 58
LLDSSDL Plate 238, frags. 1 (top) and 24; photos Shai Halevi

Scrolls Digital Library. For a digital join of these pieces, together with frag. 57 and the top right of frag. 54, see figure 2.

(11) For more general rules describing the circumstances of the use of *waw* as *mater lectionis*, see briefly White Crawford, “30. 4QDeut,” 19, and extensively D. N. Freedman and K. A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)* (Winona Lake, IN: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985), 56–67.

2.4 4Q30 Frag. 59 (Deut 28:68–69?)—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 14

The editor's suggestion that the first letter is *dalet* or *reš* is questionable, given the distance between the angle of the upper trace and the distance between the remaining traces (the crossbar would not be so close to the bottom of the letter) and *yod* is more likely. The identification with Deut 2:29–30 (12) fails, not only because of the reading of *dalet* in היר[דן], but also because it results in lines that are considerably longer than usual in 4Q30. The fragment might correspond with Deut 28:27–28 יהוה יכב[ה יהוה] followed by בשה[י]ן, but then the lines would be slightly longer than those of preceding 4Q30 frag. 45 ii (Deut 28:22–25) and following frag. 50 (Deut 28:29–30). Therefore, it might rather derive from Deut 28:68–69 ויא[י]ן followed by יהוה יכב[ה יהוה], if the manuscript had an interval after Deut 28:68 corresponding to the *setumah* of MT.

2.5 4Q30 Frag. 60—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 16

The fragment is a join of two pieces. The join is questionable because it results in a distance between the lines which is one and a half times larger than usual. Neither of the separate pieces, one with מא and the other with למען, can be joined materially to any of the fragments of 4Q30.

2.6 4Q30 Frag. 61—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 18

Only the letters of אלהיך are on the fragment, a word which occurs 235 times in Deuteronomy. I could not find a place to physically join the fragment to another fragment. A placement to the left of frag. 9 line 3 and above frag. 32 line 1 (see above 1.3) would be textually possible, but materially impossible.

2.7 4Q30 Frag. 62 (Deut 4:6?)—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 20

The trace before the final *mem* in line 2 can hardly be anything else than *ayin*. One may identify the sequence of letters with Deut 4:6, and reconstruct, for example, as follows:

1 [לעיני העמים] אשרן ישמעון את כל החקים האלה]
2 [ואמרו רק] לם חןכם

However, the fragment does not join with other fragments, and the length of the line is somewhat shorter than that in frag. 63 (Deut 4:1; cf. below 2.8) or frags. 2–3 col. i (Deut 4:13–17).

(12) Dahmen, “Neu identifizierte Fragmente,” 576.

2.8 4Q30 Frag. 63 (*Deut 4:1*)—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 21

Dahmen convincingly identified this fragment as from Deut 4:1: (13)

1 [מלמד אתכם לע]שׁות למ[ען תחיו ובאתם וירשתם את]
2 [הארץ אשר יהוה]אלהי [אבותיכם נתן לכם]

Except for the *šin* all letters are certain, and this is the only possible fit with the Masoretic text of Deuteronomy.

2.9 4Q30 Frag. 64

The fragment is not on the present plate photographs of 4Q30. An older image is on PAM 43.069.

2.10 4Q30 Frag. 65—LLDSSDL Plate 238, Frag. 12

Dahmen offered several options (*Deut 12:9* or *28:8*) reading a final *nun* before לך in line 2. (14) However, the *ʾaleph* in line 1 is likely the last letter of word.

2.11 4Q30 Frag. 66—LLDSSDL Plate 237, Frag. 17 (*to be joined to 4Q59 frag. 9*)

The fragment does not belong to 4Q30 but to 4Q59, and joins to 4Q59 (4QIsa^c) frag. 9. (15)

3 Notes on Some Pieces

3.1 4Q30 Frags. 12–15 Line 2 (*Deut 11:9*)

The small piece with זבת was already joined to the fragment on PAM 43.160.

3.2 4Q30 Frag. 45 Col. ii Line 6 (*Deut 28:25*)

A small piece with three additional letters of line 6 was originally still attached to the fragment. See PAM 40.968 and 41.189. Read:

6 לכל מן

(13) Dahmen, “Neu identifizierte Fragmente,” 576.

(14) Dahmen, “Neu identifizierte Fragmente,” 576.

(15) See Eibert Tigchelaar, “Joining 4Q30 frag. 66 to 4Q59 (4QIsa^c) frag. 9 (Isaiah 8:7–9),” *Revue de Qumran* (forthcoming 2021).

3.3 4Q30 Frag. 48 Line 2 (*Deut 28:13*)

In the new photograph of the fragment a small piece which had covered the beginning of line 2 has been removed. The photograph shows now the reading

2 והייתה רק למעלה ולא תהיה

The *he* at the beginning apparently is the last letter of והייתה, thus attesting an orthographical variant.

4 Variants

Initially, Sidnie White [Crawford] held that textually 4Q30 appears to be located in the tradition of the Old Greek, (16) even though the few cases where 4Q30 would align uniquely with the LXX are limited in comparison to the many other unique variants in the manuscript. Lange therefore argues that “as 4QDeut^c reads as often with MT as against it and includes twenty-three non-aligned variants, the manuscript is best classified as non-aligned.” (17) Tov cautions that “the non-aligned character of some texts may be misleading when the few preserved readings display a number of insignificant agreements and disagreements with other sources,” as in the case of 4Q30. (18) Most recently, Ferguson claimed that 4Q30 belongs to the Masoretic tradition. (19)

Those different assessments largely go back to differing methodological approaches and textcritical frameworks. White Crawford’s 1980s approach was rooted in Cross’s model of three textual traditions, according to which all individual manuscripts had to be assigned to one of these traditions based on weighting of the character (are they errors or recensional differences?) and importance of the variants. Hence, even though 4Q30 agrees more often with MT than with LXX, the specific correspondences with the latter are considered more important and taken as positive evidence that 4Q30 belongs to the textual

(16) Sidnie Ann White, “Special Features of Four Biblical Manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumran: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, and 4QDt^e,” *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991): 157–67 at 162; White, “A Critical Edition of Seven Manuscripts of Deuteronomy: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^f, 4QDt^g, 4QDtⁱ, and 4QDtⁿ” (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1988), 121–23 provides an annotated list of 4Q30 variants.

(17) Lange, “Ancient,” 43.

(18) Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, third edition revised and expanded (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 109.

(19) Anthony Michael Ferguson, “A Comparison of the Non-Aligned Texts from Qumran to the Masoretic Text” (Ph.D. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2018), 78–91.

tradition of the LXX. (20) Lange's framework includes Tov's category of non-aligned manuscripts, but his approach is almost exclusively quantitative. Ferguson's recent approach is flawed, since it is methodologically designed to confirm his hypothesis, namely that most non-aligned manuscripts belong to the Masoretic tradition.

While the aim of the above approaches is to establish the relationship of 4Q30 to the different versions, my aim is to describe a textual profile of 4Q30 by identifying the types of variants which are found most in that manuscript, and considering its specific processes of textual transmission.

Since all previous work on variants was based on the DJD edition, one should note that the new textual identification of frag. 9 (above 1.3) removes two of the unique or non-aligned variants from 4Q30, while the new identification of frag. 4 (above 1.1) adds two *minuses* of the conjunction *waw* to the list of variants and removes another (the *plus* of אלהיכם). Frag. 56 (above 2.1), regardless of its textual identification, is witness to at least one other textual variant.

4.1 Variants in Lists

The omission of the conjunction in frags. 4+17–18 line 1 (Deut 12:18) is part of a wider range of variants in lists of juxtaposed items. The following cases are attested, directly or indirectly, in the manuscript.

8:2 (5:2–3)	נסותך ולמען ענותך ולמען] LXX (ὅπως ἂν κακώσῃ σε καὶ ἐκπειράσῃ σε καὶ διαγνώσθῃ) <i>versus</i> MT, SP
12:18 (4+17–18 1)	אתה ובנך ובתך אתה] בנך בתך <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (σὺ καὶ ὁ υἱός σου καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ σου) <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (ἐκ πατρός σου ἢ ἐκ μητρός σου)
13:7' (22–23 1)	בן אמך] או בן אמך <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (ὁ υἱός σου ἢ ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἢ ἡ γυνή) <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (ὁ υἱός σου ἢ ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἢ ἡ γυνή)
13:7'' (22–23 1)	בן או בתך או אשת <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (ὁ υἱός σου ἢ ἡ θυγάτηρ σου ἢ ἡ γυνή)
16:11' (32 i-33 10)	אתה] בנך <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (σὺ καὶ ὁ υἱός σου)
16:11'' (32 i-33 10 ^{supra})	והגר והגר היתום ואלמנה <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος καὶ ὁ ὀρφανὸς καὶ ἡ χήρα) <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (ὀνομαστὸν καὶ καύχημα καὶ δοξαστὸν) <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (without ὁ)
26:19 (42 1)	לשם] ולתהלה ולתפארת <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (ὀνομαστὸν καὶ καύχημα καὶ δοξαστὸν) <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX (without ὁ)
28:11 (46–47 5)	בפרי בטנך] בפרי אדמתך ובפרי בהמתך <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX ^A <i>versus</i> MT, SP, LXX ^B (בפרי בטנך ובפרי אדמתך ובפרי בהמתך)

(20) The argument is sophisticated, but within the framework of Cross's antiquated model. White Crawford now indicates that she would no longer put 4Q30 squarely in the G tradition (private communication July 5, 2020).

These cases include the absence of the conjunction where it is found in MT (12:18 and 16:11', each twice), the presence of the conjunction where missing in MT and SP (8:2), the omission of the definite article (16:11), the absence or transposition of one item of a series of items (13:7''; 26:19; 28:11), and the presence of an item not attested in MT (13:7'). Due to the fragmentary nature of our material, it is not always possible to assess whether items are absent or have been transposed (see also below 4.2). In several cases the 4Q30 sequence is attested elsewhere in Deuteronomy or the Hebrew Bible. For example, the reconstructed sequence in Deut 28:11 in 4Q30 46–47 5 is the one of MT Deut 28:4, while the 4Q30 sequence of Deut 26:19 of שם followed by תהלה and then תפארת is the one of Jer 13:11.

4.2 *Excursus: 4Q30 Frags. 22–23 (Deut 13:7)*

The editor published 4Q30 frags. 22–23 as follows:

בן [אבִּיךָ] או בן אמך [או בנך או אשך]	]	1
אשר כנפ[שך בסתר לאמִן נִלְכָּה]	]	2

The two small fragments 22 and 23 have been aligned to reconstruct a version of Deut 13:7 with two variants compared to MT, first the *plus* of בן אבִּיךָ (a *plus* which 4Q30 shares with the SP, the LXX, and 11Q19 54:19), and second the *minus* of או בתך. While the first variant could be interpreted as testifying to another textual tradition of Deut 13:7, the second is generally assumed to be an error. (21)

However, the many spaces in the editor's transcription of line 2 signals there is a problem. The few traces on the second line of frag. 23 are damaged, but one certainly cannot read נִלְכָּה with the editor. (22) Rather, אֱלֹהִים fits the traces much better. However, if one reads on the basis of MT and SP רֵעֶךָ [אשר כנפ[שך בסתר לאמר נלכה ונע]בִּיךָ] הֵאָלֹהִים, then the available space in line 1 inbetween the fragments would be considerably larger than in the edition. This might indicate that the scribe of 4Q30 did not omit או בתך after או בנך, but wrote it before או בנך, even though the sequence בן followed by בת is the usual one. This is hypothetical, but it results in a reconstruction which takes account of all the traces and of the alignment of the fragments:

(21) On the two variants in 4Q30 frags. 22–23, and the argument that MT provides the best reading, see Bernard M. Levinson, "Textual Criticism, Assyriology, and the History of Interpretation: Deuteronomy 13:7a as a Test Case in Method," *JBL* 120 (2001): 211–43.

(22) The diagonal stance of the stroke is unlike that of *nun*, and is too far away from the *lamed*. The stroke can easily be read as the right arm of *'aleph*.

- 1 [כי יסיתך אחיך בן אבִיךָ] או בן אמך או בתך] או בנך או אש[ת]
 2 [חיקך או רעך] אשר כנפ[שך בסתר לאמר נלכה ונע]בִד[ה אֵל[הים]

4.3 *Variants Having Similarities to Other Passages (Assimilations?)*

Many of the variants in 4Q30 correspond to identical phrases elsewhere in Deuteronomy. Thus, the plus of את הִירֵדן in frags. 2–3 i line 3 (Deut 4:14) has the words that are present in the same phrase in Deut 4:26 and 31:13. Similarly, frag. 42 line 3 (Deut 27:1) has הזאת in addition to כל המצוה, just as in Deut 6:25; 11:22; 15:5; and 19:9. This phenomenon, which has been referred to as assimilation, also helps us to understand the variant in 4Q30 frag. 5 line 3 (Deut 8:2) which reads נסותך where MT has לנסותך. It is unlikely that 4Q30 simply omitted the preposition and read למען ענותך. Rather, the manuscript would have had the wording of MT Deut 8:16 למען ענותך ולמען נסותך. Also in cases where 4Q30 variants are shared with SP or LXX, the variant wording is generally found elsewhere in Deuteronomy. For example, in frag. 32 i, 33 line 4 (Deut 16:8) לא תעשה בו כל [מלאכה] corresponds both to the LXX in this verse οὐ ποιήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν ἔργον and to the Samaritan wording of Deut 5:14 and Exod 20:20. Or, the variant דברי השירה in 31:19 (LXX τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ᾠδῆς) corresponds to Deut 31:30. Similarly, in 12:19 the variant האדמה (LXX ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) rather than אדמתך is used repeatedly in Deuteronomy, generally with additions like “which the Lord your God is giving you,” but also without qualification, as in Deut 12:1.

A different kind of example is frag. 32 i, 33 line 4 (Deut 16:8) which, instead of the wording of MT Deut 16:8, ששת ימים תאכל מצות, has the exact phrase of Exod 12:15 and Lev 23:6, שבעת ימים מצות, תאכלו. (23)

Generally, as indicated by the label “assimilation,” scholars regard variants which have a wording that corresponds to that of other (scriptural) passages as secondary to those variants that are unique. While this may indeed be the case, one cannot take this as a rule (see further 4.7 below). (24)

(23) A quantitative approach of counting variants would mistakenly identify here two unique or non-aligned variants, as is also suggested by the list of variants in White Crawford, “30. 4QDeut^c,” 26. Ferguson, “Comparison,” 88–89, therefore also sees here two separate transpositions.

(24) See also Corrado Martone, “From Chaos to Coherence and Back: Some Thoughts on the Phenomenon of Harmonization in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Let the Wise Listen and Add to Their Learning* (Prov 1:5): *Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday*, ed. Constanza Cordoni and Gerhard Langer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 29–38.

4.4 Contextual Harmonization and Exceptions

In the edition, White Crawford refers to the pattern of third person plural forms in this manuscript's text of Deut 31:16–19. In Deut 31:16–18, where God speaks to Moses about “this nation,” the MT has mainly singular forms referring to the nation, with the exception of the two third person plural suffixes in Deut 31:17, “I will forsake *them* and hide my face from *them*.” Both SP and the LXX have in some of those cases plural forms, with 4Q30 and against MT, while 4Q30 even has the plural **ואמרו** (Deut 31:17) where all other versions have a singular. Similarly, in 31:19 4Q30 has the plural **שימזה**, with LXX, and against MT/SP.

However, against this pattern goes the unique singular form **ממנו** in Deut 31:18 where both SP (**מהם**) and LXX read the plural, and MT lacks the propositional clause altogether. In 31:17 the unexpected **עובתיה** occurs instead of **עובתיהם**.

4.5 Corrections and Variants

4Q30 has a few cases where either the originally written text and/or the corrected version reflect readings attested in MT or the versions.

In frags. 12–15 line 4 the scribe first wrote the last word of Deut 11:10 as **ברגליך** (plural), a reading corresponding to SP and 4Q38 2 10, as well as Tg. Neofiti and LXX. However, correction dots (the top one is actually a stroke) above and below the *yod*, indicate that according to the correction one should read **ברגלך** (as in MT). The two following words of Deut 11:10, attested in all other witnesses, **כנן הירק**, originally had been omitted but subsequently were inserted interlinearly.

In frags. 32 i, 33 lines 10–11 (Deut 16:11) the wording of the entire original reading is not fully clear, and the edition did not call attention to an earlier writing, partly erased, in line 11. However, the deletion of **בשעריך** (?), or something similar, (25) results in a text close to that of LXX^B (and the first reading of Tg. Neofiti).

In frags. 54–55 i line 5 (Deut 31:17) the scribe wrote **יהוה** where MT and SP have **אלהי**, and added **אלהי** interlinearly, resulting in a reading corresponding to LXX **κύριος ὁ θεός μου**.

4.6 Notes on Some Other (Purported) Variants

Frgs. 32 i, 33 line 8 (Deut 16:10). The editor reads **מִתָּה** where MT and SP have **מסת** and observes that the letter at the edge of the fragment is not like the (few) other examples of *samek* which have a

(25) The DJD edition reads **בשעריך**, but the traces to the left of the *reš* do not constitute a normal medial *kaph*.

clear loop at the left, and that the downstroke is similar to that of the neighboring *taw*. The first observation is correct; the second is not. The new photographs show clearly that the downstroke is not at all like that of *taw*, and more similar to that of *samek* one line higher. It seems better to read the letter as *samek*, even though its loop is not pronounced.

Frag. 53 line 5 (Deut 29:19). 4Q30 reads ורבקה, while MT has ורבצה and SP ורבצו. LXX with καὶ κολληθήσονται seems to go back to a text with the verb רבק, which is also used in Targums Onkelos and Neofiti. The two traditions need not be independent, nor does רבק have to be an early interpretation of רבץ. (26) Especially in some of the fourth-century Aramaic hands, *qoph* and one of the possible forms of *ṣade* might be confused (see Figure 4), while *dalet* and *reš* are even more similar, so that either of the variant readings might have been based on a misreading of a fourth-century manuscript.



Figure 4: *ṣade* (right) and *qoph* (left) in WDS P1 (above) and ADAB A4 (below)

4.7 Textual Profile of 4Q30

How can one account for these different kinds of variants? Some of the variants found in lists (4.1) align with one of the ancient textual witnesses against the others. Other variants, such as the addition or omission of conjunctions or the transposition of semantically related items in a list, could also have arisen independently, for example during the short memory process between reading a text and writing it down. Such variants in lists are therefore of little use for determining possible recensional differences.

Different are a range of variants which reflect the wording of other passages from Deuteronomy, and sometimes from other books (4.3). One might call those “assimilation” variants, (27) where the wording of one text is influenced by that of another text with which there is a degree of similarity. Of interest are those purportedly assimilation variants which are unique to 4Q30. Given that most of these do not affect the meaning, and sometimes only involve function words like conjunctions

(26) As suggested by Carmel McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*. Biblia Hebraica Quinta, Fascicle 5 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 131*.

(27) McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*. On these variants, see the description in *General Introduction and Megilloth*. Biblia Hebraica Quinta, Fascicle 18 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), lxxxix.

or prepositions, many of them may be unintentional memory variants. That is, while writing down a text, scribes did not only have physical access to a specific section of a manuscript they were copying from, but also to large sections of long-term memorized text. Similar wordings from other sections of the work or other memorized texts would have affected the textual transmission. (28)

Again, the kind of harmonization variants attested in Deut 31:16–19 (4.4), also ubiquitous in SP and LXX, could already have been present in the scribe's *Vorlage*, but may also have resulted independently (intentionally or unintentionally) from the different scribes' linguistic processing of the text.

Tendencies towards assimilation and harmonization have certainly been triggered by the typically Deuteronomic feature of formulaic expressions. Those tendencies are attested in all our textual witnesses. (29) But the discussed kinds of variants also have in common that they might easily have arisen with a scribe who did not focus on consistently copying every detail of a *Vorlage*, but was subject to the influences of other memorized texts, linguistic understanding of the text, and short-term memory changes to the text.

With respect to the discussion whether texts were copied from manuscripts or from the memorized "tablet of the heart," the scribal corrections are important. (30) The correction of small details (4.5), such as the marking of the *yod* of בְּרִגְלֶיךָ, or the addition of אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה, as well as the secondary deletion of בְּשַׁעֲרֶיךָ (or something similar), all indicate that the scribe was not exclusively copying from memory, but was also using a physically written manuscript. Perhaps an interaction of consulting the manuscript and relying on the scribe's own memorized texts could explain the alternation between singular and plural forms in the text. Thus the scribe might have started out 31:17 with the singular forms that were actually in the manuscript, and continued with plural forms based on a semantically plural understanding of the nation. But then, in 31:18, the scribe may have turned the eye back to the copy and copied its singular מִמֶּנִּי. The profile of 4Q30 would therefore result from the character of Deuteronomy as a formulaic text and the copyist's process of accessing and transmitting the text.

(28) Along similar lines, see David Carr, "Torah on the Heart: Literary Jewish Textuality Within its Ancient Near Eastern Context," *Oral Tradition* 25 (2010); reprinted in *Oral-Scribal Dimensions of Scripture, Piety, and Practice: Judaism, Christianity, Islam*, ed. Werner H. Keller and Paula A. Sanders (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2016), 21–48.

(29) McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, 7*.

(30) See also Jonathan Vroom, "The Role of Memory in *Vorlage*-based Transmission: Evidence from Erasures and Corrections," *Textus* 27 (2018): 258–73.

4.8 Textual Alignment of 4Q30

For the major part of Deuteronomy, the differences between the three traditionally recognized versions in scholarship are minor. Almost all variants between the manuscripts of MT, SP, and LXX of Deuteronomy involve the same kinds of *pluses* and *minuses*, assimilations, and harmonizations as those attested in 4Q30. (31) Since many of those variants could have originated independently, they cannot be used for aligning versions or manuscripts. One should therefore reject a simple recording and counting of all variants on the basis of which the text of 4Q30 would be classified in a non-descript category of non-aligned texts.

Of more importance are scribal corrections and different kinds of variants. White Crawford weighed the evidence and perceptively saw that two of the three corrections corrected the text towards a wording also attested in the LXX, and that in the choice between the verbs רבץ and דבק the LXX sides with 4Q30. On the basis of the weight of the evidence she cautiously associated the text with the LXX, or rather with the Old Greek. The *Vorlage* of 4Q30 thus would have shared these important variants with the *Vorlage* of the Greek, but the large amount of other variants shows that 4Q30 cannot be related exclusively to the Greek tradition. (32)

APPENDIX

CORRESPONDENCE OF 4Q30 FRAGMENTS WITH SECTIONS OF DEUTERONOMY

4Q30 FRAG(S).	DEUTERONOMY	4Q30 FRAG(S).	DEUTERONOMY
1	3:25–26	31	16:2–3
63	4:1	9	16:4–5
62	4:6 (?)	32 i-33	16:6–11
2–3 i	4:13–17	32 ii-34	16:21–17:5
3 ii	4:31–32	35	17:7

(31) The few exceptions are the long harmonization of Deut 10:6–7 with the text of Num 33:32–38 in SP, and differences between MT and the supposed *Vorlage* of the Greek text in chapters 23 and 32.

(32) Note also the large amount of correspondences between 4Q30 and the LXX against MT listed in Corrado Martone, “Qumran Readings in Agreement with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text: Part One: The Pentateuch,” *Henoch* 27 (2005): 53–113.

4Q30 FRAG(S).	DEUTERONOMY	4Q30 FRAG(S).	DEUTERONOMY
5	8:7	36–41	17:15–18:1
7–8	9:17–19	25a	23:14
10	10:5–8	42	26:19–27:2
6	10:10–11	43–45 i + 58(?)	27:24–28:7
11	11:3	46–47	28:8–11
12–15	11:9–13	48	28:12–14
16	11:18	49	28:20
4, 17–18	12:18–19	45 ii	28:22–25
19	12:26	50	28:29–30
20	12:31	51	28:48–50
21	13:5	52	28:61
22–23	13:7	59	28:68–69 (?)
24	13:11–12	53	29:17–19
25b	13:16	27	30:7 or 31:2 (?)
26	15:1–4	56	31:7 (?)
28–30	15:15–19	54–55 i, 57	31:16–19
		54 ii	32:3

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(33) Thanks are due to Sidnie White Crawford for helpful comments on an earlier form of this paper, to Corrado for his comments on 4Q30, and to the two reviewers of the journal for pointing out errors and unclarities. The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria. Figures 1–3: Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority.

WHICH DEAD SEA SCROLLS FRAGMENTS HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN RADIOCARBON DATED? ⁽¹⁾

Abstract

Thirty-two fragments from the Judean Desert have been radiocarbon dated in 1990 and in 1994. The publications of the results did not specify which particular fragments had been used for the dating tests. This ambiguity has resulted in misconceptions about allegedly tested fragments, such as concerning fragments of copies of the Aramaic Levi Document (4Q213/4Q213a) and copies of the Reworked Pentateuch (4Q364/4Q365). Also, several references in the articles discussing the ¹⁴C dating are not correct, whereas other scrolls have been renamed. An examination of the pre- and post-radiocarbon dating photographs shows in most cases which specific fragments have been dated. Five additional radiocarbon tests have been undertaken in the 2000s and will also be discussed.

1. Radiocarbon Dating: Which Fragments?

PALaeOGRAPHY is the most commonly used method to date the manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls and to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of their composition. The Scrolls were found during the time when radiocarbon tests developed as a means of dating, (2) but to achieve a reliable date “more disposable material than could

(1) The research for this article was conducted as part of the NWO-FWO project Models of Textual Communities and Digital Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls, principal investigators: Prof. Mladen Popović and Prof. Eibert Tigchelaar. I thank Johannes van der Plicht, Mladen Popović, Eibert Tigchelaar and the reviewers of *RevQ* for their valuable feedback and help in localizing photographs, and Emanuel Tov for the records of the selection of samples which he provided for the ¹⁴C tests of 1994.

(2) W.F. Libby, E.C. Anderson, and J.R. Arnold, “Age Determination by Radiocarbon Content: World-Wide Assay of Natural Carbon,” *Science* 109 (1949): 227–28.

be taken from the scrolls” was required, namely 1 to 3 grams. (3) Later, the introduction of the Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (henceforth: AMS) technique made it possible to run radiocarbon tests with amounts of 0.5–1.0 mg of carbon in a sample. (4) This made it possible to subject fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls to radiocarbon dating as well. (5)

Over the years two sets of scrolls have been dated by radiocarbon testing: fourteen scrolls from Wadi Daliyeh, Wadi Seyal, Masada, Wadi Murabbaʿat, Khirbet Mird, and Qumran caves 1, 4, and 11 have been tested in 1990, and eighteen scrolls and two linen fragments from Nahal Hever and Qumran caves 1, 2, and 4 in 1994. (6) Furthermore, in the 2000s five other scrolls have been radiocarbon dated, namely MUR 22, MUR 29, (7) 4Q427, 4Q491 (8) and 4Q216. (9) Bonani et al. (1991, 1992 (10)) as well as Jull et al. (11) indicated which scrolls they

(3) George Bonani, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, Susan Ivy, John Strugnell, and Willy Wölfi, “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27–32, 28.

(4) An introduction to and explanation of AMS is published in: D.E. Nelson, R.G. Korteling, and W.R. Scott, “Carbon-14: Direct Detection at Natural Concentrations,” *Science* 198 (1977): 507–508.

(5) Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 28. See for an additional explanation and references to more specialized literature, Johannes van der Plicht, “Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on “Redating,”” *DSD* 14 (2007): 77–89, 78, and Johannes van der Plicht, and Kaare L. Rasmussen, “Radiocarbon Dating and Qumran,” in *Holistic Qumran. Trans-Disciplinary Research of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Jan Gunneweg, Annemie Adriaens, and Joris Dik (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 99–121, particularly 119–21.

(6) Abegg refers to radiocarbon datings in 1991 and 1996, but his references to the dated manuscripts prove that he has the radiocarbon tests in 1990 and 1994 in mind, cf. Martin G. Abegg, “The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More Than (Initially) Meets the Eye,” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls. An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 48–68, 49. Three additional samples would have been submitted to the ¹⁴C laboratory in Oxford, but no ¹⁴C measurements were produced, cf. Van der Plicht, “Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 77, n. 1.

(7) Results of radiocarbon dating of MUR 22 and 29 are mentioned in Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi, and Timothy A.J. Jull, “Four Documents from Wadi Murabbaʿat and the Status of Jerusalem During the Bar Kokhba War,” in *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, ed. Hanan Eshel, and David Amit (Tel Aviv: Israel Exploration Society, 1998), 233–39 (Hebrew).

(8) Results of the samples of 4Q427 and 4Q491 are published in Magen Broshi, and Hanan Eshel, “Radiocarbon Dating and *the Messiah before Jesus*,” *RevQ* 20 (2001): 311–17.

(9) Cf. Matthew P. Monger, “4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees in the First Century BCE” (PhD diss., MF Norwegian School of Theology, 2018), 44–45 and 103–105.

(10) Georges Bonani, Susan Ivy, Willy Wölfi, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell, “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992): 843–49.

(11) Timothy A.J. Jull, Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Tov, “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert,” *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11–19.

had used. However, in these publications it is not adequately indicated which fragments have been used for the tests. Furthermore, the articles of Bonani et al. (1991 and 1992) do not mention all PAM (Palestinian Archeological Museum) plate numbers of the tested samples, which is an additional cause for the lack of certainty. This note aims to clarify which fragments have been sampled for radiocarbon dating.

2. Finding the Samples of the Radiocarbon Tests

In my search for the radiocarbon dated fragments, I have not solely relied upon the references in the articles of Bonani et al. and Jull et al., since the referenced articles do not refer to specific fragments or columns. I compared the old photographs from the 1960s with the newer photographs of around the 2010s and later, and I noted the differences between the two. (12) Undoubtedly, deterioration of the manuscripts themselves has caused some damage to the fragments and a possible, though limited, loss of material. Yet, it is relatively easy to see whether a change has been caused by deterioration of the manuscript or by conscious sampling, since the sampled piece is usually nicely and in an angular manner cut off from the manuscript. Also, the samples are taken from unwritten and relatively broad margins. (13) If the PAM numbers are mentioned in Bonani et al., the plate numbers of actual samples indeed agree in all cases with the plate numbers given in the articles. Less certainty is possible concerning the larger scrolls, for which it is not always clear whether changes in the columns are due to human intervention or natural deterioration.

In the case of the radiocarbon dated fragments of 1994, Jull et al. state that “photographic records were made of the exact locations of the piece subjected to examination.” (14) It remains unclear whether such records of the sampling of the fragments of 1990 are preserved. The conservation lab of the Israel Antiquities Authorities (IAA) was

(12) In most cases I used the photographs on the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. In cases in which post-¹⁴C photographs were not available, I used the photographs kindly provided to us by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), for which we are very grateful. The post-¹⁴C photographs of the Temple Scroll (11Q19), the Community Rule (1QS), Peshier Habakuk (1QpHab), and the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a) have been consulted on <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il>. In cases, in which the pre-¹⁴C photographs were not available on the Leon Levy Digital Library, I used the plates published in other relevant sources, which are explicitly referred to in the footnotes.

(13) As Jull et al. explicitly state on account of the 1994 sampling of scrolls: “All samples were taken from ragged edges of top or bottom margins of the scrolls. No samples were taken that would have caused any significant damage to the scrolls themselves,” cf. Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments,” 11.

(14) Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments,” 11.

established in 1991 and the samples were taken in July 1990. At present no definite information from the IAA and the Israel Museum in Jerusalem could be given to me as to which fragments have been sampled during the sampling in 1990 and 1994. (15) Records of the proposed locations of the samples of 1994 were kindly provided to me by Emanuel Tov. Those records indicate from which part of which fragments a sample was proposed to be cut off, but do not provide data for each fragment. In the cases in which these records present additional information, I have discussed these in the footnotes.

3. The Identification of the Radiocarbon Dated Fragments in 1990

In the following table I give the fragments that have been radiocarbon dated in 1990. The first column gives the names and designations that are given in Bonani et al. 1991, even though some of them have changed. The next column provides the current names and designations. The next two columns refer to the fragments that have been radiocarbon dated: column three contains the Q-numbers and DJD fragment numbers, whereas column four provides the IAA plate and fragment numbers, as they are given in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. I indicated the position of the proposed sample between the brackets. The data in the article of Bonani et al. suggest that multiple samples have been taken from Testament of Qahat, the Book of Isaiah, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Hodayot and the Temple Scroll. (16)

In the fifth column I mention the ^{14}C dates given by Bonani et al. (17) The sixth column provides the paleographic dating listed by

(15) Personal communication Beatriz Riestra, Israel Museum Jerusalem. As for the “photographic records” mentioned in Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments,” 11, they are not available at the Israel Museum, but the internal records in the treatment documentation are in most cases preserved.

(16) It is explicitly stated that two samples were collected from 4Q542 at different times (Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls,” 848). The parchment sampling from the Temple Scroll, the Genesis Apocryphon and the Hodayot yielded gelatinized as well as ungelatinized portions (which indicates two samples as well), whereas “additional, fresher material was requested from the Temple scroll” (Ibid.), which suggests that three samples were taken from the Temple Scroll, although that is not explicitly confirmed in one of the tables in Bonani et al. Therefore, I have given additional options for the Temple Scroll, the Genesis Apocryphon and the Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a).

(17) Doudna provided new dates on the basis of the old ^{14}C results by using the new(er) calibration curve of 1993, instead of the calibration curve of 1986 used for calibration after the Zürich and Arizona tests, cf. Doudna, “Dating the Scrolls,” 468–71. However, as there are again new calibration curves and the current one is expected to be replaced this year (Van der Plicht, p.c.), I stick to the calibrated data as given in

Bonani et al., the seventh column again contains the paleographic dating provided by Webster in his chronological index of most of the Dead Sea Scrolls in DJD XXXIX which is in several cases different from the data in the articles of Bonani et al. (18) The differences are explained in the footnotes.

Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 30; Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," 845; and Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments," 14.

(18) Brian Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert: Introduction," in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, ed. Emanuel Tov, DJD XXXIX (Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 351–446.

Table 1: Sampled Fragments for the Radiocarbon Tests in 1990 (19)

Descriptions Bonani et al. 1991	Current Name	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (DJD-numbers)	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (IAA)	¹⁴ C date as in Bonani et al. 1991	Paleographic/ Internal date (Bonani et al. 1991) (20)	Paleographic/ Internal date Webster (21)
Wadi Daliyeh: a deed of sale of two slaves	WDSP papDeed of Slave B ar	WD 2	Plate 555, fig. 1 (bottom margin left)	405–354 BCE (55%); 306– 238 BCE (45%)	352–351 BCE	352–351 BCE
The Testament of Qahat (4QTQahat; 4Q534; PAM 193)	4QTestament of Qahat (4Q542)	4Q542, fig. 1	Plate 193, fig. 1 (bottom + right margin column I; bottom left margin column II)	388–353 BCE (34%); 309– 235 BCE (66%)	100–75 BCE	125–100 BCE

(19) Rasmussen et al. have suggested to redate several of the scrolls, namely 1QH^a, 4Q258 (both samples), 4Q266, 4Q171, 4Q521, and XHev/Se 8a, cf. Rasmussen et al., “The Effects of Possible Contamination,” 1017–20. The dates suggested by radiocarbon tests of 4Q542 and 4Q365(a) differ to a large extent from the suggested paleographic dates, but are not mentioned in their discussion. These two tests resulted in an older radiocarbon date than expected, whereas Rasmussen et al. recommended scrolls for redating that are suspected to be contaminated by castor oil and whose tests resulted in younger radiocarbon dates than expected.

(20) Abegg offers the same paleographic dates as Webster, apart from a minor deviation in the date of 4Q365. The editors’ description of a “script transitional between the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods” was interpreted differently: Webster gives 40–10 BCE, Abegg 50–25 BCE, cf. Abegg, “The Linguistic Analysis,” 51.

(21) Webster provides paleographic dates for radiocarbon dated fragments in two places: first, he provides paleographic dates in his separate overview of the radiocarbon dated fragments, allowing for a comparison between the results of paleography and radiocarbon dating, cf. Webster, “Chronological Index,” 364–67. Second, he included most of them in his overview of “Paleographically Dated Texts from Qumran,” cf. Webster, “Chronological Index,” 378–446. Apart from limited deviations, which will be discussed below, the given dates are similar.

A Pentateuchal Paraphrase (4Q365)	4QReworked Pentateuch c (4Q365 (a))	4Q365(a), fig. 3	Plate 480, fig. 6 (top margin)	339–324 BCE (12%); 203–117 BCE (88%)	125–100 BCE (22)	40–10 BCE
The Book of Isaiah (1QIsa ^a) (23)	1QIsa ^a	1QIsa ^a , column 39	Column XXXIX (bottom margin) (24)	335–327 BCE (5%); 202–107 BCE (95%)	125–100 BCE	125–100 BCE

(22) This date is provided by Strugnell referring to Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 20, who states: “It should therefore be assigned, roughly, to the last quarter of the second century BCE.” García Martínez quotes a description of Strugnell of 4Q365: “My ms. of which only a bit was published by Yadin is a *Middle Hasmonean copy* of a wildly aberrant text of the whole Pentateuch containing several non-Biblical additions ...” (emphasis mine), cf. Florentino García Martínez, “The New Jerusalem and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, ed. idem (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 180–213, 180, n. 1. Sidnie White considered 4Q365a and 4Q365 to be written by the same hand, which was dated by White and Emanuel Tov to the period “between the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods (falling between the scripts of 4QSam^a and 1QM),” cf. Emanuel Tov, and Sidnie White, “365. 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I*, ed. Harold Attridge et al., DJD XIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 255–318, 260. 4QSam^a and 1QM are dated to respectively 50–25 BCE and 30–1 BCE, cf. Webster, “Chronological Index,” 407 and 415.

(23) The pre-¹⁴C photographs that I consulted, are from Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, volume I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950), plates I-LIV.

(24) Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments,” 15. Both the first and the second group of samples would have been taken from column XXXIX; it is difficult to distinguish two different samples at the bottom margin, which is the area that Tov's files indicate for the sampling of DSS-50 1QIsa^a in 1994. Other options are column II (bottom left margin), column V (bottom margin), column XI (bottom left margin), column XIV (bottom middle margin), column XVI (bottom right margin), column XXIII (bottom left margin), column XXVII (bottom left margin), column XXXVIII (bottom right margin), column XLV (bottom middle margin), column XLVIII (bottom middle margin), and inter-columnar space columns L-LI.

Descriptions Bonani et al. 1991	Current Name	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (DJD-numbers)	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (IAA)	¹⁴ C date as in Bonani et al. 1991	Paleographic/ Internal date (Bonani et al. 1991)	Paleographic/ Internal date Webster
The Testament of Levi (4QTLevi; PAM 817)	4QAramaic Levi Document (4Q213)	4Q213, fig. 5	Plate 817, fig. 5 (bottom margin)	191–155 BCE (59%); 146– 120 BCE (41%)	End 2 nd century, beginning 1 st century (25)	50–25 BCE
An early version of the book of Samuel (4QSam ^c)	4QSamuel ^c (4Q53)	4Q53, fig. 2	Plate 405, fig. 2 (top margin)	192–63 BCE	100–75 BCE (26)	100–75 BCE/ 150–30 BCE

(25) Bonani et al. refer to Milik, “Le Testament de Lévi,” 399, who dated the handwriting of 4Q213a, frgs. 1–2, to this period. However, the fragment that has been radiocarbon dated is 4Q213, fig. 5, see the discussion after this table. By 1966, Milik considered 4Q213–4Q213a–4Q213b–4Q214 to be one manuscript of the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which would justify comparing the result of the radiocarbon tests to the paleographic date of 4Q213a (end of the second/beginning of the first century), cf. J.T. Milik, “Fragment d’une source du psautier (4QPs 89) et fragments des Jubilés, du Document de Damas, d’un phylactère dans la Grotte 4 de Qumran,” *RB* 73 (1966): 94–106, 95; Greenfield and Stone disagree, arguing that these are all separate manuscripts, and date 4Q213 to “the middle of the first century BCE or slightly later,” cf. Michael E. Stone, and Jonas C. Greenfield, “213. 4QLevi^a ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XVII Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George Brooke et al., DJD XXII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–24, 3. This date is often adopted by other scholars, e.g. Abegg, “The Linguistic Analysis,” 51, and Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 23.

(26) Bonani et al. refer to Ulrich who argues that “an approximate date in the first quarter of the first century B.C. is indicated by the consensus of typological palaeographic studies, consistent with other palaeographic clues, and compatible with the dating of archaeological, orthographic, and philological analysis,” cf. Eugene C. Ulrich, “4QSam^c: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14–15 from the Scribe of the *Serek Hay-yahad* (1QS),” *BASOR* (1979): 1–25, 2–3. Webster provides the same date in his section “Palaeographically Dated Texts from Qumran” (Webster, “Chronological Index,” 389), but in his discussion of the radiocarbon dated texts he gives the date 150–30 BCE based on Cross describing it as Hasmonean (Ibid., 365). This date has also been adopted by Abegg, cf. Abegg, “The Linguistic Analysis,” 51.

Masada 1747/10 (Sectarian Document) (28)	Mas Joshua Apocryphon	Mas 1039/211	Plate X90 (bottom margin)	169–93 BCE	30–1 BCE	End of the 1 st century BCE - Beginning of the 1 st century CE
The Temple Scroll (11QTemple) (30)	Mas Unidentified Qumran-Type Fragment	Mas 1063–1747	Plate X92 (bottom stroke)	33 BCE–74 CE	30–1 BCE	175–125 BCE (Cross), 150–100 BCE (Albright) (29)
	11QTemple Scroll (11Q19)	11Q19	Columns XXIX (bottom margin), XLIV (left margin), LXIII (bottom margin middle), LXVII (several pieces top margin)	97 BCE–1 CE	Late 1 st century BCE–Early 1 st century CE	1–30 CE

(27) The pre-¹⁴C photograph can be found in Shemaryahu Talmon, *Masada VI, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 106.

(28) The pre-¹⁴C photograph is published in Talmon, *Masada VI*, 133.

(29) The date for the radiocarbon dating team was provided by Ada Yardeni (Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 28). Webster uses the dates given by Talmon who assesses the remaining letters both according to Cross’ methodology and in comparison with the Nash papyrus (dated by Albright), suggesting a date somewhere between 175 and 100 BCE, cf. Talmon, *Masada VI*, 134. Thus, it is an assessment of Talmon, not two explicit differing propositions by Cross and Albright themselves.

(30) Pre-¹⁴C photographs can be found in Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll, Volume Three, Plates and Text* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977).

Descriptions Bonani et al. 1991	Current Name	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (DJD-numbers)	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (IAA)	¹⁴ C date as in Bonani et al. 1991	Paleographic/ Internal date (Bonani et al. 1991)	Paleographic/ Internal date Webster
The Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen)	1QGenesis Apocryphon ar (1Q20)	1Q20	Possibly: column XIII (top left), intercolumnar space in XV-XVI (31)	73 BCE-14 CE	Late 1 st century BCE-Early 1 st century CE	30 BCE-68 CE
The Thanksgiving scroll (1QH) (32)	1QHodayot (1QH ^a)	1QH ^a	No data	21 BCE-61 CE	50 BCE-70 CE	30-1 BCE (Schürer- Vermes) (33)
Wadi Seyal (PAM 736) (34)	XHev/ SepapWaiver of Claims? ar	XHev/Se 13	Plate 736, fig. 6 (bottom margin)	28-122 CE	130-131 CE	130-131 CE

(31) I did not have access to all pre- and post-radiocarbon dating photographs of the Genesis Apocryphon, but I compared the pre- and post-radiocarbon dating photographs that were available in Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 149-254. For that reason, I have not been able to get access to both pre- and post-radiocarbon dating photographs of columns III, V, VI, VIII-IX, XI.

(32) It has not been possible to compare the pre- and the post-¹⁴C dating photographs of 1QH^a.

(33) Webster lists 30-1 BCE based on the Schürer-Vermes' edition in which it is stated that this manuscript was written by two different Herodian hands, cf. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.-A.D.135), vol. III.1, ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 452. In this case, Schürer-Vermes does not distinguish between Early, Middle or Late Herodian. Webster based his date on Dimant's assessment of the first hand (50-25 BCE) and Strugnell's and Strugnell's claim that 1QH^a is one of the earliest fully developed Herodian formal hands, cf. Webster, "Chronological Index," 366.

(34) The post-¹⁴C photograph is provided on the Leon Levy Digital Library, but plate 736, fig. 6, is linked to manuscript XHev/Se 10 on the website. However, a comparison with the plate in DJD XXVII shows that Plate 736, fig. 6, is manuscript XHev/Se 13. The pre-¹⁴C photograph can

Murabba'at (Mur 30): a deed of sale of property	papDeed of Sale of Plot	Mur 30	Plate 827, fig. 1 (bottom right margin) (35)	69–136 CE	134 CE	134 CE
Khirbet Mird: fragment of a private letter in Arabic	Mird 34 (Grohmann no.52)	Mird 34	Grohmann, Plate 25 (36)	675–765 CE	744 CE	744 CE

be found on PAM 42.193, published in Robert H. Eisenman, and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Washington: Biblical Archeology Society, 1991), plate 695.

(35) Possibly a separate piece of papyrus that is visible on early photographs has been used as well. Another possibility is that it is preserved somewhere else, not separately on this particular plate, cf. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284764>, consulted on 14 November 2019.

(36) This papyrus is edited in Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet el-Mird* (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1963), 64–65, having index number 52. The photograph of this papyrus (Mird 34) is found on plate XXV in the back of the book.

Throughout the years there has been a limited number of discussions about the particular fragments that have been radiocarbon dated, in particular concerning 4Q365 (Pentateuchal Paraphrase) (37) and 4Q213 (Testament of Levi). As for 4Q365, Michael Langlois discussed the difference between the calibrated radiocarbon date ranges and the proposed paleographic date for the script of 4Q365 which does not fit any of the suggested calibrated radiocarbon date ranges. One of the four explanations he suggested was that “the fragment that was tested does not belong to 4Q365, in which case my new dating for 4Q364 (4QRP^b) would perfectly fit the third 1 σ range.” (38)

The suggestion that a fragment of 4Q364 was sampled for radiocarbon dating has to be rejected. I compared the 1960 and 2012 photographs of 4Q364: no significant changes in fragments can be perceived except some slight alterations due to further deterioration (e.g., 4Q364, frg. 24a 7 (plate 482, frg. 15) to the right of ליהוה[. (39) The only possible exception would be fragment 14 (plate 477, frg. 4), the right upper margin. However, a close comparison leads to the conclusion that the piece of parchment that lacks at the top margin has been transferred to the right margin, in the position right before the beginning of the right margin (see the photo's in the appendix). Also, a comparison of the old and the new photographs of 4Q365 proves that part of the top margin of fragment 3 has been cut off.

A further lack of clarity in the secondary literature regards the fifth sample: *Aramaic Levi Document (ALD)*, listed above as *Testament of Levi*. Bonani et al. refer to a preliminary edition of fragments of *ALD* by Milik in which he edited 4Q213a frgs. 1–2. Henryk Drawnel deduced that the radiocarbon dating did refer to 4Q213a frgs. 1–2, claiming:

(37) Webster comments on 4Q365 stating “Doudna describes this piece as ‘Additional Frg. 3, assigned to 4Q365 (?)’.” If the association with 4Q365 is incorrect, the following paleographic comparison is invalid, cf. Webster, “Chronological Index,” 366.

(38) Michael Langlois, “Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch,” in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael Langlois (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 255–85, 261–62. Other suggestions are 1) a contaminated sample, 2) a calibration curve in need for correction for this period, 3) the paleographic features previously assumed to be characteristic for the second half of the first century BCE should be considered to have appeared earlier (Ibid.).

(39) On the old photographs a tiny remnant of what plausibly was an *alef* was still visible; the new photographs lack this feature. However, this cannot be a radiocarbon dated sample, because a) no samples would have been taken that destroy remnants of text, b) zooming in on the photo shows that there was a break in the fragment precisely at this point between the lamed and the presumable *alef*. Finally, compared to the other 1990 samples, this piece of parchment would have been too small for a successful dating.

“Milik ... dated it to the second half of the second century or the beginning of the first century B.C., and radiocarbon dating of this scroll confirmed his paleographic judgement.” (40)

However, this does not align with the plate number that is given in the first article about radiocarbon dating of Dead Sea Scrolls. The samples for the dating of the Testament of Levi originate from PAM 817, whereas 4Q213a frgs. 1–2 are preserved on PAM 997. (41) A comparison between the photographs of the fragments on PAM 817 made in 1960 and those photographed in 2012 shows a difference in fragment 5 (4Q213, frg. 5). The lower part of the fragment is not present anymore in the 2012 photograph. The fragment now has a sharply cut line and there is no evidence for a particular deterioration pattern that could have resulted in the form of the 2012 photograph. This suggests human intervention instead of deterioration over the years. Additional proof that fragment 5 of plate 817 was used for radiocarbon dating is that the linen threads that were tested for radiocarbon “were attached to Sample 5, the Testament of Levi.” (42) The old photographs from 1960 show that a linen thread was attached to fragment 5, whereas in the new photographs the thread has disappeared. Finally, fragments of 4Q213a show no loss of material, rendering it virtually impossible to argue that samples for radiocarbon dating have been taken from any of those fragments. (43)

(40) Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran. A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 24. Drawnel’s claim concerns all fragments of 4Q213a, whereas Milik’s suggestion only relates to 4Q213a frgs. 1–2. Puech states the following: “Les manuscrits qumraniens du *Testament de Lévi* araméen les plus anciens (4Q213a-b-4Q214a-b) datent de la première moitié du premier siècle av. J.-C.” He refers to confirmation by the radiocarbon tests, cf. Puech, “539. 4QTestament de Joseph ar,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII Textes Araméens Première Partie 4Q529–549*, ed. Émile Puech, DJD XXXI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 201–11, 202–203. Yet, he does not mention 4Q213 in his listing of the *oldest* scrolls for the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which suggests that he did not consider 4Q213, frg. 5, the likely sample for the radiocarbon dating.

(41) Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 30. The PAM number of 4Q213a frg. 1–2 (plate 997) can be found at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-281216> (consulted on February 13th, 2020).

(42) Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls,” 846.

(43) Milik (implicitly) suggested that plates 817 and 997 belong to one and the same manuscript, in which case the radiocarbon date of plate 817, fragment 5, can indeed be connected to the date of plate 997, cf. Milik, “Fragment d’une source du psautier (4QPs 89),” 95. Drawnel, however, argues explicitly for considering the fragments of these two plates as different copies of an *Aramaic Levi Document* (cf. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 21–22).

4. The Identification of the Radiocarbon Dated Fragments in 1994

In the following table, I give the fragments that have been radiocarbon dated in 1994. The first column gives the names and designations that are given in Jull et al. 1995, but I left out DSS-26 and DSS-27, samples of radiocarbon dated linen. The next column provides the current names and designations. Column three contains the Q-numbers and DJD fragment numbers of the sampled fragments, whereas column four provides the IAA plate and fragment numbers, as they are given in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. In the fifth column I mention the ^{14}C dates given by Jull et al. (44) The sixth column provides the paleographic dating listed by Jull et al., whereas the seventh column contains the paleographic dating provided by Webster in his chronological index of most of the Dead Sea Scrolls in DJD XXXIX which is in several cases different from the data in the articles of Jull et al. (45) These differences are more elaborately discussed in the footnotes.

(44) As I indicated above, I stick to the calibrated data given in Bonani et al. and Jull et al. Although newer calibration curves are available, the current one is expected to be replaced this year (Van der Plicht, p.c.), cf. n. 16.

(45) Webster, "Chronological Index," 351–446.

Table 2: Sampled Fragments for the Radiocarbon Tests in 1994

Description Jull et al. (1995)	Current Name	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (DJD-numbers)	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (IAA)	1σ Calibrated ¹⁴ C age (Jull et al. 1995)	Paleographic/ internal date (Jull et al. 1995)	Date Webster
Damascus Document a	4QD ^a	4Q266, fig. 11	Plate 706, fig. 1 (bottom left margin) (46)	5–80 CE	100–50 BCE	100–50 BCE
Commentary on Habakuk (47)	1Qpeshar Habakuk (1QpHab)		Column XIII (bottom margin middle) (48)	104–43 BCE	30–1 BCE	1–50 CE
Community Rule (49)	Community Rule (1QS)		1QS XI (bottom right margin) (50)	159 BCE–20 CE	100–75 BCE	100–50 BCE

(46) The records provided by Tov imply that two places had been suggested: one small section in the margin to the left of lines 15 to 17 and one piece to the left of line 19 which was nearly separated from the manuscript in the first place. A comparison of the pre- and post-¹⁴C photographs shows that only the second suggestion has been sampled.

(47) Pre-¹⁴C photographs are published in Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, plates LV–LXI.

(48) The scan provided by Tov shows that initially a square piece of the bottom margin below 7787 was to be cut off. However, a comparison of the pre- and post-¹⁴C photographs indicates that a piece of the bottom margin of column XIII below 7787 72 was taken away. Doudna has indicated before that “the sample for 1QpHab was cut from the bottom edge of a large amount of blank space below the last lines of the final column (13),” cf. Doudna, “Dating and Radiocarbon Analysis,” 451–52.

(49) Pre-¹⁴C photographs have been preserved in Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, volume II, Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

(50) The sample corresponds to the suggested sample in the records of Tov. Other places at which part of the parchment seems to have changed are, in order of occurrence, column IV (the hook at the bottom margin right), column VI (a tiny part of the material seems lost at the left of the middle in the bottom margin), column VII (bottom margin middle (below 777)), column X (bottom right margin).

Description Jull et al. (1995)	Current Name	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (D.JD-numbers)	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (IAA)	1σ Calibrated ¹⁴ C age (Jull et al. 1995)	Paleographic/ internal date (Jull et al. 1995)	Date Webster
Community Rule, d (51)	4QS ^d	4Q258, fig. 1; and fig. 5	<i>Possible first sample:</i> Plate 140, fig. 1 (top right margin column I), or plate 141/2, fig. 1 (top right margin); <i>Possible second sample:</i> Plate 140, fig. 1 (margin between column 2–3) (52)	<i>First sample</i> - 134–230 CE; <i>Second sample</i> - 11 BCE–78 CE	Around 100 BCE (53)	30–1 BCE

(51) The first sample of 4Q258 yielded dates that were considered to be too young and did not agree with the paleographic analysis. This led the team to request a second and cleaner sample, subjected to a (stronger) cleaning process, resulting in a ¹⁴C age closer to the proposed paleographic age.

(52) It is not entirely certain which of those were taken first. The records provided by Tov indicate that the part of the margin between column II and III has been sampled for radiocarbon dating. Above the scan is written “Inv. No. 140,141”, but number 141 is crossed out by a red pen (with which the samples are normally indicated in Tov’s records). It could be the case that plate 141/2, fig. 1 (top right margin), was tested first, that the results yielded dates that were too young, after which the samples of plate 140 (between column II and III, and top right margin column I) were taken, which could be indicated by the fact that number 141 was crossed out. Another possibility is that the first sample was the bottom margin between column II and III and the second sample consisted of plate 140, fig. 1 (top right margin of column I), but that would render the missing fraction in plate 141/2 (top margin), fig. 1, more difficult to explain.

(53) The early date is probably based on a misunderstanding of a description of Milik writing a preliminary description of the cave 4 fragments that were assigned to him in 1955. Cross published reports of Baillet, Skehan, Allegro, Strugnell, Starcky, Hunzinger, and Milik in F.M. Cross, “Le travail d’édition des manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956): 49–67. Milik mentioned in his report ‘the beginning of the first century’ as the date for one of the Rule manuscripts: “Un des mss. de la Règle présente une écriture assez archaïque et daterait, d’après F. Cross, du début du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. Le même ms. contient le mot *byšr*’l (VIII, 12) écrit en alphabet cryptique A” (Ibid., 61). However, the only manuscript in which a cryptic *byšr*’l has

Commentary on Psalms, a	4Qpesher Psalms ^a	4Q171, fig. 10	Plate 600/1, fig. 5 (bottom right margin)	22–78 CE	No data (54)	No data
Messianic Apocalypse	4QMessianic Apocalypse	4Q521, fig. 10	Plate 330, fig. 4 (top left margin)	35 BCE–59 CE	100–80 BCE (55)	125–75 BCE
Damascus Document, b	4QD ^b	4Q267, fig. 14	Plate 107, fig. 22 (top left margin)	172–98 BCE	50–0 BCE	30–1 BCE
Midrash Sepher Moshe (56)	4Qpap cryptA Midrash Sefer Moshe	4Q249, fig. 13	Plate 590, fig. 28 (bottom left margin)	191–90 BCE	No data	190–150 BCE

been read, is 4Q259, as is discussed by Philip S. Alexander, and Geza Vermes, “259. 4QSerekh ha-Yahad^c,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XIX. Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, ed. Philip S. Alexander, and Geza Vermes, DJD XXVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 129–52, 145–46. Thus, Milik did not relate the suggested paleographic dating to 4Q258.

(54) Strugnell has described the handwriting of 4Q171 as “Main habituelle de style <semi-formel> rustique,” cf. J. Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des “Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163–276, 211. If he follows Cross’ definition, he would have had a dating in the Herodian period in mind, since Cross claims that Vulgar and Round/Rustic semiformal replace Hasmonean semiformal and semicursive traditions and thus belong to the Herodian period, cf. F.M. Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G.E. Wright (London: Routledge, 1961), 133–202, 173–74. This would align well with the radio-carbon 1σ-dating of 22–78 CE.

(55) Webster, “Chronological Index,” 387 suggests that Puech considered it to be written in 125–75 BCE referring to Émile Puech, “4QApocalypse messianique,” in *Qumran grotte 4 XVIII Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–579)*, ed. Émile Puech, DJD XXV (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1–38, 3. However, at page 5 Puech explicitly states that he dates the handwriting between 100–80 BCE.

(56) Pre-¹⁴C photographs are preserved in the Leon Levy Digital Library PAM 43.409 at the utter right side in the second but last line of fragments on the plate.

Description Jull et al. (1995)	Current Name	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (DJD-numbers)	¹⁴ C-dated fragments (IAA)	1 σ Calibrated ¹⁴ C age (Jull et al. 1995)	Paleographic/ internal date (Jull et al. 1995)	Date Webster
Phases of the Moon	4QcryptA Lunisolar Calendar	4Q317, fig. 3	Plate 899, fig. 3 (bottom right margin)	164–93 BCE	No data	No data (57)
Astronomical Enoch ^a	4QAstronomical Enoch ^a ar	4Q208, fig. 4	Plate 823, fig. 3 (top margin) (58)	166–102 BCE	About 200 BCE	225–175 BCE
PaleoExodus ^m	4QpaleoExodus ^m	4Q22, column VI-VII	Plate 661, fig. 8 (bottom intercolumnar space)	159 BCE–16 CE	100–25 BCE	100–25 BCE
Patch on 4Q22			Plate 661/1, fig. 1 (right side of the patch)	98 BCE–13 CE	50 BCE–50 CE	100–25 BCE
Letter	4QLetter? ar	4Q342	Plate 602, fig. 4 (bottom right margin)	14–115 CE	Bar Kokhba period	15 CE

(57) However, in dating 11QcryptA Unidentified Text Webster quotes García Martínez et al. that it is “closer to those of 4Q249 and 4Q317, which are dated to the late 2nd century BCE than to the somewhat later 4Q298” (Webster, “Chronological Index,” 385). This would suggest a late second century date for 4Q317 as well. Webster also refers to the astrological events described in the text which occurred near the beginning of the ¹⁴C range, as a *terminus post quem* (Ibid., 365).

(58) Which was suggested by its editors, cf. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, and Florentino García Martínez, “4QAstronomical Enoch^a ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, part I*, DJD XXXVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 104–31, 109.

Debt Acknowledgement	4QDebt Acknowledgement ar	4Q344	Plate 602, fig. 2 (bottom left margin)	72-127 CE	Bar Kokhba period	72-127 CE (59)
Sale of Land	4QDeed A ar or heb	4Q345	Plate 602, fig. 3 (left, between the upper and lower version)	373-171 BCE	No data	60-1 BCE
Papyrus, AD 130	papPurchase of a Date Crop	5/6Hev 21	Plate *105, fig. 1 (bottom left margin, right below the subscription and witnesses)	130-321 CE	130 CE	130 CE
Book of Isaiah ^a	1QIsa ^a		Column XXXIX	335-122 BCE	150-125 BCE (60)	125-100 BCE
Papyrus Kefar Bebayou	XHev/Se papDeed of Sale C ar	XHev/Se 8a	Plate 651	231-332 CE	135 CE	134-135 CE
Papyrus, AD 128	papDeed of Gift	5/6 Hev19	Plate *108, fig. 2 (bottom right margin?)	126-234 CE	128 CE	128 CE

(59) Yardeni suggested that the writing would not predate the end of the Herodian period, cf. Ada Yardeni, "344. 4QDebt Acknowledgement ar," in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites, with an Appendix containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)*, ed. H.M. Cotton, and A. Yardeni, DJD XXVII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 289-91, 289. The radiocarbon date provided a date between 72-127 CE and, probably because most of the letters are difficult to identify, the radiocarbon date has been adopted.

(60) Note the difference in paleographic dating with the dating in Bonani et al. in 1991 and 1992, who adopted a dating of 125-100 BCE.

The particular pieces of Kefar Bebayou (XHev/Se 8a) and Papyrus, AD 128 (5/6Hev 19) that have been sampled for radiocarbon tests, are difficult to trace. In DJD XXVII the plates seem to represent photographs that have been made after the sampling for ^{14}C tests. This is shown by an examination of XHev/Se 13 (dated in 1990) where a piece of the left bottom margin is cut away, visible upon comparison of plate VIII in DJD XXVII (post- ^{14}C) with PAM 42.193 (pre- ^{14}C). (61) Tsila Sagiv is mentioned as the photographer of both the plates in DJD XXVII and the Leon Levy website. XHev/Se 8a, published in the same edition of the DJD, is also photographed by Tsila Sagiv, which suggests that the photography has taken place after the sampling for ^{14}C tests. A comparison of XHev/Se 8a in DJD XXVII (plate III) and a 1954 photograph on the Leon Levy website shows that nothing has been cut away from the bottom margin. Unfortunately, the right margin is not visible on the photographs from 1954, which makes it impossible to identify the particular place of sampling with certainty.

It is also unclear which specific part of “Papyrus, AD 128” (5/6Hev 19) has been sampled for radiocarbon dating. The first possibility would be a separate fragment preserved at the bottom middle of the pre- ^{14}C photograph of the plate. The post- ^{14}C photograph of the plate does not contain this fragment. However, several separate fragments have been arranged differently on the plate and a picture that is claimed to be photographed in May 2011 by an unknown photographer still preserves this fragment. (62) The other possibility would be the traces of papyrus at the bottom right of the old photograph, although these could be the result of natural deterioration.

5. Additional radiocarbon tests

Magen Broshi and Hanan Eshel were involved in at least four additional radiocarbon datings of the Scrolls, also performed at the AMS facility of the University of Arizona in Tucson. MUR 22 and MUR 29 are listed as sampled for radiocarbon dating tests in an article discussing four documents from Wadi Murabba’at and questioning whether they originated in the period of the destruction of the Second Temple or in the period of the Bar Kokhba revolt. (63)

(61) Published in Robert H. Eisenman, and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Washington: Biblical Archeological Society, 1991), plate 695. This piece of parchment was sampled in 1990 (Wadi Seyal, PAM 736).

(62) Cf. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-300527>, consulted on 14 November 2019.

(63) Eshel et al., “Four Documents from Wadi Murabba’at,” 233–39.

Table 3: Sampled Fragments for Additional Radiocarbon Tests (Murabba'at)

Designation	¹⁴ C dated fragment (DJD)	Plate and Fragment Number	Calibrated Age 2σ (95%)	Internal Date
MUR 22	MUR 22?	No data	91 BCE - 78 CE	131 CE
MUR 29	MUR 29	Plate 836, frg. 1 (right margin)	91 BCE - 78 CE (64)	133 CE (65)

MUR 22 is mentioned consistently in the article. However, it is unclear which fragment would have been radiocarbon dated. Since no new photographs are available in the Leon Levy Digital Library, it is impossible to compare pre- and post-¹⁴C data.

In a later article Broshi and Eshel published the results of radiocarbon dating of 4Q427 (4QHodayot^a) and 4Q491 (4QWar Scroll^a). (66) Again, a comparison of the pre-¹⁴C photographs of the fragments with the post-¹⁴C fragments leads to a suggestion which part of the fragments has been radiocarbon dated.

Table 4: Sampled Fragments for Additional Radiocarbon Tests (Cave 4)

Designation	¹⁴ C dated fragment (DJD)	Plate and Fragment Number	Calibrated Age 1σ (68%)	Paleographic date
4QH ^a (4Q427)	4Q427, frg. 8	Plate 115, frg. 3 (bottom margin)	188–48 BCE	100–50 BCE (67)
4QM ^a (4Q491)	4Q491, frg. 11	Plate 457/1, frg. 1 (line 19) (68)	168–50 BCE	50–25 BCE

(64) Eshel et al., “Four Documents from Wadi Murabba'at,” 237. The non-calibrated ¹⁴C ages that are provided, differ to some extent: MUR 22 has the ¹⁴C age of 1990 ± 45, whereas the sample of MUR 29 yields a ¹⁴C age of 1980 ± 45.

(65) The internal dates of MUR 22 and MUR 29 are provided by J.T. Milik, “Textes Hébreux et Araméens,” in *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, ed. P. Benoit, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, DJD II (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 67–205, 118 and 140.

(66) Broshi, and Eshel, “Radiocarbon Dating,” 315–17. According to the data provided by Emanuel Tov, 4Q491 was suggested before, in 1994, as DSS-15, but in the end no samples were taken from 4Q491 by then.

(67) Different dates have been suggested, most of which refer to the (late) Hasmonean period. See the summary in E. Schuller, “427. 4QHodayot^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XX Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. Esther Chazon et al., DJD XXIX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 77–123, 85. Israel Knohl, arguing that both 4QH^a and 4QM^a preserved a hymn about the Messiah, based his claims on the thought that both copies are to be dated in the Herodian period, cf. Israel Knohl, *The Messiah before Jesus. The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 111–12, n. 68.

(68) The preserved parts of line 19 of column 1 have remained unwritten; both a triangle form (above **במען**) and a more rectangular form (above **בצדקים**) have been cut off.

Radiocarbon tests have also been performed on samples of 4Q216, a copy of *Jubilees*, the results of which have not been published. However, Monger has discovered the sampling of parts of 4Q216 upon visual examination of the fragments of the scroll. He notes the sampling (a) from the left margin of the final column on sheet 1, (b) from the thread that was used to stitch sheets I and II together, and (c) from the bottom margin of fragment 10. (69) Unfortunately, the specific results are not available, but one of the dated samples would have yielded a date of 160 BCE - 1 BCE. (70)

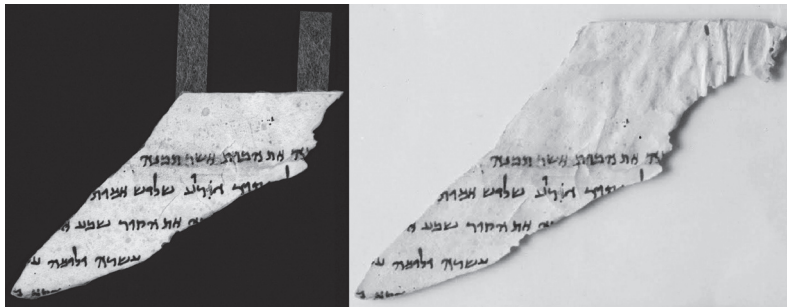
6. Conclusion

The comparison of pre- and post-radiocarbon dated photographs in this paper has in most cases clearly shown which particular fragments of the scrolls from the Judean Desert have been sampled for ^{14}C dating in 1990 and in 1994. Pre- and post- ^{14}C photographs for the all of the columns of the Genesis Apocryphon and 1QH^a as well as for the Khirbet Mird papyri are needed to be able to assess the sampling of these manuscripts. The suggestions for sampling in the larger scrolls are in some cases more difficult to evaluate.

Jull et al. refer to photographic records that were made of the exact location of the samples. Such records regarding the sampling for the radiocarbon dating in 1990 remain a *desideratum* in order to ascertain in order to ascertain which samples were radiocarbon dated, particularly in the case of 1QIsa^a, 1QH^a and the Genesis Apocryphon.

APPENDIX: (71)

4Q365a, frg. 3 (sampled for radiocarbon dating)

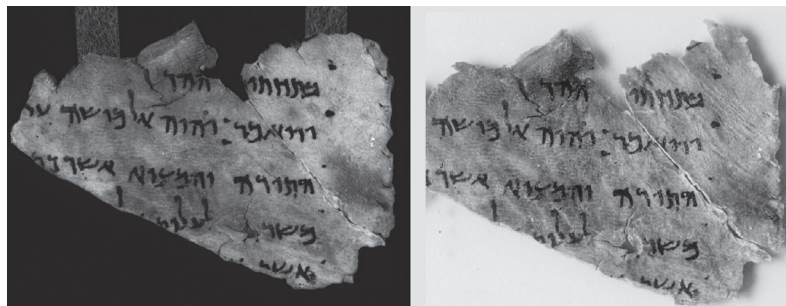


(69) Monger, "4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees," 44–45.

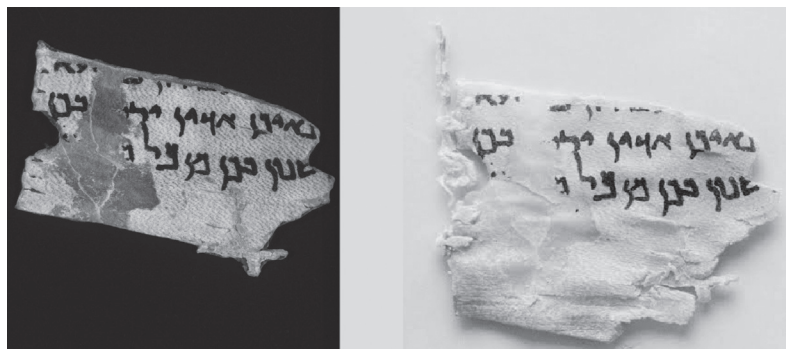
(70) Monger, "4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees," 103–104. Unfortunately, it is not indicated which sample yielded that date.

(71) Publication of Figures: Courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority, photo: Shai Halevi.

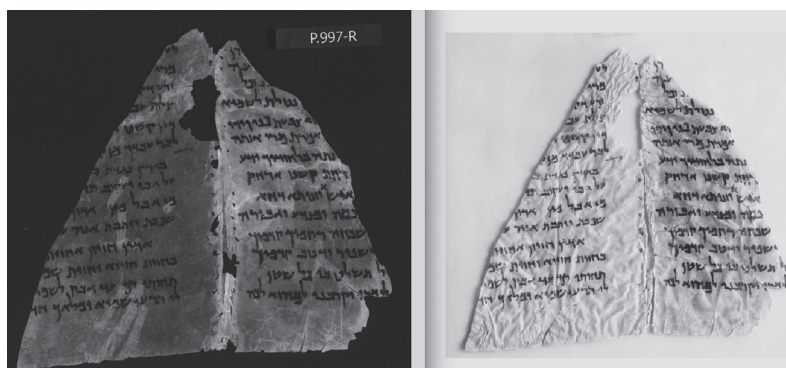
4Q364, frg. 14 (not sampled)



4Q213, frg. 5 (sampled for radiocarbon dating)



4Q213a, frgs. 1-2 (not sampled)



Hanneke VAN DER SCHOOR

LINGUISTIC REMARKS ON THE UNITY OF 4QMMT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR HEBREW IN THE LATE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD ⁽¹⁾

Abstract

4QMMT is an important witness to the diversity of Hebrew in the late Second Temple Period. Its significance stems both from its distinctive grammar and claims that it resembles a form of spoken Hebrew. Yet the usefulness of 4QMMT for both sociolinguistic and historical reconstructions is complicated by arguments that it is a composite text which preserves two distinct linguistic profiles. Focusing primarily on the level of verbal syntax, this article argues that the perceived linguistic differences between the two major sections of 4QMMT are illusory and reflect nothing more than a shift in thematic focus. This conclusion is then used to argue for the differentiation of registers in the Dead Sea Scrolls, according to which the majority of the Scrolls reflect a “high” literary register, while the Hebrew of 4QMMT is closer to a spoken register.

4QMMT (hereafter “MMT”) is an important witness to the diversity of Judaean Hebrew in the late Second Temple period. Already in 1956 Józef Milik wrote of “deux pièces de papyrus appartenant à un ouvrage apocalyptique, écrit en semi-cursive et rédigé en

(1) The research for this article was conducted at the Qumran Institute of the University of Groningen and was supported by the 2018 Dirk Smilde Scholarship. It is a pleasure to thank Prof. Mladen Popović and the members of the Qumran Institute for their generous hospitality and support during my stay. It is also a pleasure to thank Prof. Ian Young, Prof. Gary Rendsburg, and an anonymous reviewer, who kindly read over drafts of this article, offered many helpful suggestions, and saved me from multiple errors. Any remaining errors are my own. The manuscript for this article was completed prior to the conviction of Jan Joosten. All references to Joosten’s research have subsequently been removed. The remaining discussion is in no way dependent on his work. The author wishes to acknowledge the impacts of abuse on all survivors.

proto-mishnaic,” which were among the Cave 4 fragments purchased earlier that year for the McCormick Seminary. (2) It is evident from Milik’s reference to papyrus that this is a description of 4Q398. Later, Elisha Qimron summarized MMT’s distinctive linguistic profile in the editio princeps (DJD X) as follows: “[t]he initial impression given by the language of MMT is that it differs from the Hebrew of the other Qumran manuscripts in being closer to M[ishnaic] H[ebrew]”; however, he went on to say “this similarity to MH may be misleading since there are many biblical and Qumran features in MMT which contrast with MH usage.” (3) In short, the “(proto-)Mishnaic” quality referred to by Milik and Qimron is suggested principally by the regular use of the participle in place of finite verbs and the relative pronoun *שֶׁ/שֶׁ*—features shared with the Copper Scroll—and has meant that MMT has been of interest both for its potential diachronic (or dialectal) implications with regard to the development of MH and its sociolinguistic significance as possible evidence for spoken Hebrew in late Second Temple period Judaea. (4)

Notwithstanding Milik’s typological classification of the language as “proto-Mishnaic,” there is a strand of scholarship that has tended to emphasize the internal linguistic and stylistic variety which can be discerned within MMT. This has led, in turn, to questions about the compositional unity of the text and suggestions that it is comprised of

(2) Józef T. Milik, “Le travail d’édition des manuscrits du Désert de Juda,” in *Volume du Congrès International pour l’étude de l’Ancien Testament, Strasbourg 1956*, ed. P.A.H. de Boer; VTSup 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1956), 24. The purchase is described in Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls A Full History: Volume One, 1947–1960* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 296.

(3) Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: Volume 10: Qumran Cave 4: V Miḡsat Ma’ašeh Ha-Torah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 65 (hereafter DJD X).

(4) E.g. Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*; Resources for Biblical Study 76 (Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 6, 10–11; Ken M. Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Qumran Hebrew Texts*; Studia Semitica Neerlandica 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 158–59, 199–201; Elisha Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E.–200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, eds. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–61; DJD X, 108, cf. pp.103 and 107; see also idem, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*; HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 117; Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, “An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in cooperation with the American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985), 405; Shelomo Morag, “Language and Style in ‘Miḡsat Ma’ašeh Ha-Torah’—Did Moreh Ha-Šedeq Write This Document?,” *Tarbiz* 65 (1996): 223 (in Hebrew); Mark S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive: Northwest Semitic Evidence from Ugarit to Qumran*; HSS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1991), 62.

two or more redactional strata, or an older halakhic core that was subsequently expanded with the addition of a paraenetic epilogue. (5) It follows that the question of MMT's unity has significant implications both for its usefulness in historical reconstructions and its value for the sociolinguistics of the Second Temple period.

The present research project was commenced in the belief that it is possible to distinguish two linguistic registers in MMT: the first, a vernacular dialect which characterizes the halakhic section; the second, a classicizing (or biblicizing) register which characterizes the paraenetic epilogue. My intention was to demonstrate through a synchronic comparison of syntactic features that the differences were part of the writers' rhetorical strategy, according to which the classicizing register of the epilogue was used to confer authority through implicit association with the scriptural tradition. (6) I was wrong. What emerged over course of the study was a conviction of the fundamental uniformity of the two sections at a basic linguistic level.

Past discussions of the unity of MMT

It should be stressed that I was not alone in thinking that the halakhic and paraenetic sections could be differentiated on stylistic and grammatical grounds. Already in the *editio princeps* Qimron suggested

(5) E.g. Miguel Pérez Fernández, "4QMMT: Redactional Study," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 191–205; idem, "4QMMT: Linguistic Analysis of Redactional Forms Related to Biblical and Rabbinic Language," in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15–17 December 1997*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 205–22; cf. Charlotte Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February, 1998*, eds. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 69–84, who inferred a common halakhic basis to the laws of MMT and D; contrast Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function and the Meaning of the Epilogue*; STDJ 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 117–20, who recognized a degree of internal variation, but preferred to attribute it to stylistic causes.

(6) On the vexed question whether Qumran Hebrew was a deliberately classicizing register see the recent surveys and critiques in Mladen Popović, "Multilingualism, Multiscripturalism, and Knowledge Transfer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Graeco-Roman Judaea," in *Sharing and Hiding Religious Knowledge in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, eds. Mladen Popović, Lautaro R. Lanzillotta, and Clare Wilde (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 46–71; Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "Sociolinguistics and the Misleading Use of the Concept of Anti-Language for Qumran Hebrew," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Study of the Humanities: Method, Theory, Meaning: Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies (Munich, 4–7 August, 2013)*, eds. Pieter B. Hartog, Alison Schofield, and Samuel I. Thomas; STDJ 125 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 195–206.

that the pattern of language use within MMT is not uniform, observing “[i]t is the MH vocabulary (particularly what is found in the Halakhic [sic.] part of the work) that gives MMT its MH appearance, even though the grammar (and especially its phonology and morphology) differs markedly from MH, and resembles that of Q[umran] H[ebrew].” (7) Elsewhere he attributed this lexical variation to stylistic factors, writing that “[t]he ‘biblicized’ language is typical of the theological section [i.e. the epilogue], while the halakhic section is less similar to BH.” (8) It should be noted, however, that because Qimron’s primary concern was MMT’s typological relationship to QH, he did not elaborate on the nature of this internal variation.

Miguel Pérez Fernández went further and attempted to use the perceived variation as an aid to his reconstruction of redactional layers within the text. To that end, he noted differences in syntax, lexis, and content between the halakhic section and the epilogue. (9) Among the central pillars of his argument were: (1) the predominance of participles in the halakhic section when referring to the writers’ own actions or opinions, in contrast to the use of *qatal* verbs in the epilogue; (2) the use of infinitives as modal verbs in the halakhic section, in contrast to the use of imperatives in the epilogue; and (3) the introduction of terminology in the epilogue which is unparalleled in the halakhic section, especially in references to scripture (e.g. תורה C 24, 27, 28, and כתוב בספר C 10, 11; cf. -כתוב throughout section B). (10) Such considerations led Pérez Fernández to argue that the epilogue was a later addition to, and expansion of, an earlier halakhic document. (11)

Hanne von Weissenberg also remarked on the lexical and grammatical variation; however, she attributed it to a combination of factors, including the underlying sources and considerations of genre:

The legal statements in the halakhic section, which are primarily focused on ritual purity and priestly matters, are heavily dependent upon Leviticus and Numbers. By contrast, the epilogue employs language and terminology

(7) DJD X, 103; cf. Elisha Qimron, “The Nature of DSS Hebrew and Its Relation to BH and MH,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 232–44, esp. 234.

(8) Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew,” 354.; cf. DJD X, 78, 102, where Qimron refers to “the archaising and biblicising use of the converse perfect.”

(9) Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 191–205.

(10) Ibid. 191–205. Each of these points will be considered in detail below.

(11) He subsequently elaborated on this argument in Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Linguistic Analysis of Redactional Forms,” 205–22, inferring at least two redactional strata in the halakhic section.

that is rich with allusions to Deuteronomy, a scriptural text which is significantly less interested in priestly matters and purity. Accordingly there appears to be a shift between the two sections, both in the vocabulary and syntax. This shift is due to the biblical background, the differences in subject matter, and the different genre of these sections. (12)

Similarly, in another study, I recently observed:

Leaving aside for the time being the question of lexicon—which is primarily determined by the text’s thematic content—it is significant that it is the halakhic section which evinces the greatest concentration of non-BH features, e.g. the preference for participial over *qatal* forms and the imperative modal infinitive. (13) By contrast, in the paraenetic section we find a greater concentration of conservative, biblicizing, features, such as the use of the *wayyiqtol*, the use of the infinitive absolute as a finite verb, and temporal clauses of the type -וּ + infinitive. This conspicuous variation suggests that there is indeed a correlation between the constituent genres of MMT and their linguistic registers. (14)

Evidently there is a broad consensus that two linguistic profiles can be identified in MMT. The question which has ensued is whether such differentiation implies that the halakhic section and the epilogue were the product of multiple authors and reflect significantly different grammatical systems, as proposed by Pérez Fernández, or whether the perceived variation is a product of generic and thematic factors, as proposed by von Weissenberg. In contrast to these earlier discussions, the aim of the present study is to demonstrate that the perceived differences are illusory, especially at the level of syntax, and result from nothing more than a shift in the thematic content of the epilogue. In other words, although the genre and content change between the two sections, the underlying linguistic structures are the same.

Preliminary considerations

The following analysis will focus primarily on the comparison of verbal syntax between the halakhic section and the paraenetic epilogue. The choice to foreground verbal syntax can be justified on two grounds. First, despite the prominent place it was afforded in earlier studies, lexis, or vocabulary, is a poor basis for comparison. This is because

(12) von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 117.

(13) Cf. Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 196.

(14) Gareth Wearne, “4QMMT: A Letter to (not from) the *Yahad*,” in *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran: Papers from the Ninth Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies, Leuven 2016*, eds. Jutta Jokiranta and Molly Zahn; STDJ 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 107.

lexis is, generally speaking, highly susceptible to variation due to generic, stylistic, and thematic factors, and, as such, we should be wary of attempts to predict usage on a comparative basis—even within the same text. This is further complicated in the case of MMT by the fact that our evidence for the language comes from six fragmentary manuscripts which were copied over an extended period. (15) In such cases, it can be difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether lexical features should be attributed to the author or to the intervention of subsequent copyists (whose manuscripts may tend toward either heterogeneity or homogeneity). (16) While the same is true at the level of syntax, all things being equal, the systematic nature of clausal syntax provides a surer basis for comparison. Thus, for example, if a participle is used in a performative clause in one instance but elsewhere a *qatal* is used in an analogous or identical clause, we can be reasonably confident we are comparing like with like. Of course, lexis is not insignificant, but, as will be seen, much of the lexical variation which has been identified in MMT can adequately be explained by the thematic focus and rhetorical function of either section.

Second, the repeated copying of MMT similarly inhibits comparisons of morphology and phonology. Convenient listings of text critical variants between the six manuscripts of MMT have been published by Qimron and Strugnell and by von Weissenberg. (17) In most cases, the variants consist of minor differences in spelling and word order. Minimally, the presence of such variants proves that the composite text is not a precise reflection of the original composition, meaning the morphological and phonological characteristics of the Urtext cannot be established. (18) As with lexis, it is impossible to know what features should be considered typical of the original writers and what should be attributed to the copyists.

Of course, it might be objected that the same limitations apply to syntax, as the grammar could have been standardized at some stage in the transmission process. But, if so, then the syntactic uniformity which

(15) For Ada Yardeni's discussion of the paleography, including her paleographical dating of the fragments to the mid-late first century BCE, or early first century CE, see DJD X, 3–39.

(16) Cf. Eric D. Reymond, "The Scribe of 1Qs, 1QSa, 1QSb, 4Q53 (4QSam^c), 4Q175 and Three Features of Orthography and Phonology," *DSD* 25 (2018): 238–54.

(17) DJD X, 41; von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 71–85.

(18) See Hanne von Weissenberg, "4QMMT—Some New Readings," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders K. Petersen, et al.; STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 220, who observed: "[o]n lines C 10–12 of the composite text, the editors, by combining mss 4Q397 and 4Q398 create a reading that is not materially possible in either of the individual manuscripts."

is evinced in multiple analogous contexts across the six manuscripts implies that standardization must have occurred systematically and at a relatively early stage (i.e. in 4Q398, the earliest manuscript, or a common ancestor). Such arguments reach a point of diminishing returns. Furthermore, the question of standardization only arises in response to the argument that it is possible to distinguish two registers in MMT and, as will be seen, the evidence for the differentiation of registers is ultimately unconvincing. In other words, the case for standardization rests on circular reasoning in response to a problem that does not exist. While we can never exclude the possibility of systematic standardization of the syntax, there is no reason to believe it has occurred. (19)

When establishing typological relationships in what follows, little attempt will be made to differentiate between Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). (20) Indeed, the distinction between SBH and LBH can be considered largely anachronistic from the perspective of the implied writers and audience, with the qualification that some syntactic features might have seemed more or less familiar from the point of view of ordinary speech. Although it is problematic, I will use QH in a broad sense to describe the syntactic conventions typical of the majority of documents discovered in the caves near Khirbet Qumran. (21) This is not to imply a linguistically homogeneous corpus, but it is a helpful heuristic against which to gauge whether the features of MMT are more or less typical. I will use scripturalizing and classicizing to describe a feature, or features, which seem(s) to emulate the characteristics of BH over against an alternative option which is attested elsewhere in the text. Such features may be considered stylistic in as much as they entail a demonstrable element of choice.

Establishing the text of MMT

Before turning to an analysis of MMT's syntax, it is also necessary to discuss the nature of the manuscript evidence. As noted above,

(19) This applies specifically to systematic standardization. There is no reason to doubt that changes of a more ad hoc nature occurred.

(20) The same is true of the recently coined "Standard/Peripheral Classical Hebrew," cf. Robert Rezetko, and Ian Young, *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps Toward an Integrated Approach* (Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 10–11.

(21) On the difficulties associated with this term, see Popović, "Multilingualism, Multiscripturalism, and Knowledge Transfer," 46–71; cf. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's 'Qumran Scribal Practice'," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, eds. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 173–207; idem, "Sociolinguistics and the Misleading Use of the Concept of Anti-Language for Qumran Hebrew," 195–206.

MMT exists in six fragmentary manuscripts (4Q394–4Q399). (22) In DJD X these were collated into a composite text, consisting of three sections: a partial 364-day solar calendar (section A), a halakhic exposition (section B), and a paraenetic epilogue (section C). Although there is significant overlap between the manuscripts, there is no manuscript which preserves all three sections in their entirety. Moreover, it is now widely agreed that the calendar (section A), which is only attested on one manuscript (4Q394), was probably a secondary addition and, as such, it will be omitted from consideration below. (23) The composite text was recently republished with minor amendments by Qimron and it is the latter edition which forms the basis for the following discussion. (24)

That is not to say, however, that the composite text is a precise reconstruction of the Urtext. (25) As von Weissenberg has shown, by conflating variants, the editors have produced a text that cannot fully be reconciled with the manuscript evidence. (26) Nevertheless, the composite text affords a viable approximation. Indeed, there is only one variant in the lists published by Qimron and Strugnell and von Weissenberg that may be deemed to be syntactically significant, namely **משכתוב** (4Q396 1–2 iv 5) / **כשכתוב** (4Q397 6–13 12), “as it is written” (B 76). As Qimron and Strugnell observed, the unusual construction **משכתוב** is probably indebted to the cognate Aramaic expression **מדכתיב** and may reflect the bilingualism of the scribe. (27) Whatever the case,

(22) While I acknowledge Annette Steudel’s case for seeing 4Q448 (4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer) as a previously unrecognized lost beginning of MMT, I omit it from consideration here. In my view the case is not sufficiently well-established, and my sense of MMT’s genre and *Sitz im Leben* differs from that of Steudel, see Annette Steudel, “4Q448–The Lost Beginning of MMT?,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, eds. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar; STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 247–63; cf. Wearne, “4QMMT,” 99–126.

(23) See von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 33–38.

(24) Elisha Qimron, *Megillot Midbar Yehudah: Ha-Hiburim ha-Ivriyim* (Jerusalem: Yad Yisḥaq Ben-Zvi, 2010), 204–11 (in Hebrew).

(25) On the nature and limitations of the composite text, see Elisha Qimron, “The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, eds. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; SymS 2 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 9–13; von Weissenberg in “4QMMT–Some New Readings,” 217–221; eadem, *4QMMT*, 71–104.

(26) von Weissenberg in “4QMMT–Some New Readings,” 220; cf. Ian Werrett, “The Reconstruction of 4QMMT: A Methodological Critique,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders K. Petersen, et al.; STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 205–16. That is not to say the reconstructions in the composite text are necessarily invalid or incorrect, but their conjectural nature should be emphasized.

(27) DJD X, 55, 92, 100; cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 75–76.

the citation formula is not paralleled in the epilogue and, as such, it is irrelevant for the comparison of sections B and C.

Delimitation of the sections

In broad terms, the halakhic section and the paraenetic epilogue can be differentiated on the basis of their contents; however, their delimitation has been a matter of debate. Based on linguistic arguments—especially, the first use of, past *qatal* forms, and the shift from plural to singular pronouns when addressing the audience—Pérez Fernández identified line C 10 as the beginning of the epilogue. (28) But these arguments are not conclusive. The use of the *qatal* commences already with פָּרְשְׁנוּ in C 7, while a 2ms subject already appears in the *hiphil* verb תְּבִיא in C 6, despite the fact that וְאַתֶּם continues to be used in C 8. (29) In any case, such arguments are predicated on the arrangement of the fragments for the composite text published in DJD X. According to this arrangement 4Q398 11–13 (= lines C 18–24) are placed after 4Q397 14–21 (= C 1–12) and 4Q398 14–17 i (= C 13–17). But this order is not assured. Already in his appendix to the editio princeps Strugnell expressed some reservations about the placement of 4Q398 11–13. (30) More recently, Hanne von Weissenberg and Émile Puech have argued that the placement of 4Q398 11–13 after 4Q397 14–21 is incompatible with the reconstructed column widths of 4Q397. Instead, following an earlier suggestion by Hartmut Stegemann, they proposed that 4Q398 11–13 should be placed before 4Q397 14–21. (31) The latter

(28) Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 196, 197. Note that Pérez Fernández refers throughout his study to line 9, but his examples are drawn from line 10; cf. Lawrence Schiffman, “The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, eds. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; SymS 2 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 95; Moshe Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, eds. J. Kampen and M.J. Bernstein; SymS 2 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 46–47, who argued that the scriptural citation in C 5–7 “would be a fitting conclusion to the halakhic section.”

(29) Admittedly תְּבִיא is part of a scriptural citation and may reflect the syntax of the source text.

(30) The placement of 4Q398 11–13 as adopted in the composite text was proposed by Menahem Kister on thematic grounds, see DJD X, 201, 206.

(31) von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 85–90; Émile Puech, “L’épilogue de 4QMMT revisité,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honour of James C. VanderKam, volume 1*, ed. Eric F. Mason; JSJSup 153/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 309–40. See also DJD X, 201–02; and Reinhard G. Kratz, “Mose und die Propheten; zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, eds. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar; STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 162–66.

arrangement seems to be confirmed by Puech's subsequent placement of PAM 43.688 frg. 4—identified as 4Q397 25 by Eibert Tigchelaar—in the final column of the epilogue (= 4Q398 14–17 ii 4–8). (32) This enabled him to reconstruct a continuous text, with C 1–12 following C 18–24.

In short, then, lines C 1–9 should be considered part of the epilogue. Nevertheless, for clarity in what follows I will continue to employ the system of line numbering developed for the composite text in DJD X. (33)

Syntactic analysis

The functions of the participle:

One of the most distinctive features of MMT's syntax is the regular use of participles (sometimes with an auxiliary verb, see below) in phrases describing present, durative, or habitual actions. In this respect MMT more closely resembles MH than BH or QH. In such contexts BH and QH typically use the *yiqtol* conjugation, although the participle may also be used, especially for present action. (34) Thus, for example, Qimron compared the expression שְׂאִינִם רְוִאִים, “(the blind) who cannot see” (B 50), to the analogous אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִרְאוּ וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ, “(idols) which cannot see and cannot hear” (Deut 4:28; cf. Jer 5:21; Ps 115:5–6; 135:16–17). (35)

(32) Émile Puech, “La lettre essénienne *MMT* dans le manuscrit 4Q397 et les parallèles,” *RevQ* 27 (2015): 99–136; cf. Eibert Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.668 Frag.4 Identified As a 4Q397 (4QMMT^D) Fragment,” *RevQ* 103 (2014): 455–59.

(33) Qimron's most recent edition follows the arrangement and line numbering of DJD X.

(34) DJD X, 80; Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2018), §H.1.4.1; Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 158–59; Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*; SubBi 27 (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006), §121 *d–e* (hereafter Joüon-Muraoka); Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §37.6.e (hereafter Waltke and O'Connor).

(35) In this, MMT reflects a characteristic development of MH; however, such uses of the participle are also attested in the Copper Scroll and the Bar-Kokhba letters, see Yigael Yadin et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University; Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2002), 17; cf. Holga Gzella, “The Use of the Participle in the Hebrew Bar Kosiba Letters in the Light of Aramaic,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 90–98. Qimron also noted the use of participles in place of *yiqtol*s in the targums of Deut 4:28, DJD X, 80.

A similar development is reflected in the use of the participle in the performative phrase **אנחנו אומרים**, “we say” (B 55; B 64–65; B 73). This use of the participle can be contrasted with the performative *qatal*, which is standard in biblical and pre-exilic epigraphic Hebrew (e.g. **אמרתי**, “I say,” 2 Sam 19:30; cf. **ברכתך**, “I bless you,” in Arad 16:2–3, 21:2, etc.); however, it is consistent with the tendency to use the participle in performative expressions in QH and other Second Temple period sources. (36)

Notwithstanding the use of the participle for performativity in QH, the consistent and systematic use of the predicative participle distinguishes MMT from the bulk of the QH corpus. (37) It is therefore significant that the uses of the participle in section C are identical to those attested in section B. Thus, we find expressions such as **את כי על [אלה א]נחנו נותנים את**, “for concerning [these things w]e give” (C 9), as well as various stative participles (e.g. **ואנחנו מכירים ש-**, “and we think that...,” C 20), and the periphrastic syntagm **היה + participle** (see below).

There is only one instance in which a finite form is used in a context where we might expect a participle, namely **שחשבנו**, “which we have deemed important” (C 27); cf. **אנחנו חושבים**, “we think” (B 29, etc.). (38) This should not be taken as a classicizing feature, however, as the perfective aspect makes good idiomatic sense in its context, i.e.

(36) See Max F. Rogland, *Alleged Non-past Uses of Qatal in Classical Hebrew*; *Sudia Semitica Neerlandica* 44 (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 115–19, 127–30; Wido Th. Van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 75–76; Gregor Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der juddäischen Wüste*; STDJ 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 492, 512, 516. This may reflect Aramaic influence, see Max Rogland, “A Note on Performative Utterances in Qumran Aramaic,” *RevQ* 19 (1999): 277–80.

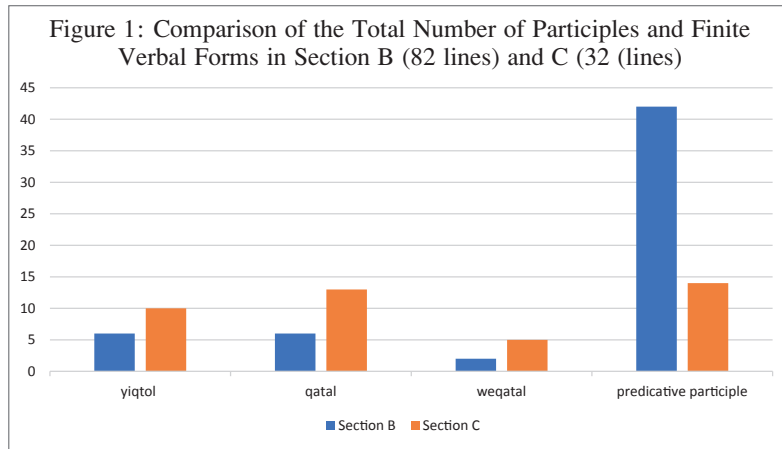
(37) Takamitsu Muraoka, “The Participle in Qumran Hebrew with Special Reference to its Periphrastic Use,” in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill 1999), 188–204. Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip*, 492–93. The participle is likewise used in the Copper Scroll as a present tense form, see Jesper Høgenhaven, “The Language of the Copper Scroll: A Renewed Examination,” *RevQ* 27 (2015): 271–301, esp. 282.

(38) Cf. **אנחנו חושבים**, B 29; **[א]נחנו חושבים**, B 36; **אנחנו חושבים**, B 37; **אנחנו אומרים**, B 73; **אנחנו אומרים**, B 55; **אנחנו אומרים**, B 42; **אנחנו חושבים**, B 36; **אנחנו חושבים**, B 37; **אנחנו חושבים**, B 42. This can be compared to the analogous expression **שא אנחנו חושבים**, “which w[e deem important],” (mostly restored) in B 2. Although the verb must be restored, we can be reasonably confident that a participle stood there, since every other instance of the **שא** construction in MMT is followed by a participle (cf. **אנחנו חושבים**, B 29, B 36, B 37, B 42). In both cases the relative clause modifies “some of the works (of the Torah)” (**מקצי מעשים/מעשי התורה**). Semantically, however, the expressions **שחשבנו** and **אנחנו חושבים** are not identical, since **שא אנחנו חושבים** (B 2) has a permansive aspect.

“we have written to you some of the works of the Torah, which we have deemed important ...” (C 27–26).

Relative frequencies of finite verbs:

In section C there is a quantifiable increase in the use of finite verbal forms, relative to section B (see Figure 1).



Excluding for the time being the use of הִיה as an auxiliary verb in the periphrastic syntagm הִיה + participle (see below), *qatal* forms occur at a frequency equivalent to approximately one instance in every 13.6 lines in section B and one instance in every 5.2 lines in section C. (39) *Yiqtol* forms occur at a frequency equivalent to approximately one instance in every 13.6 lines in section B and one instance in every 4 lines in section C. *Weqatal* forms occur at a frequency equivalent to approximately one instance in every 41 lines in section B and one instance in every 6.4 lines in section C. Yet, the difference between the two sections is even clearer when the total number of finite forms

(39) Calculated on the basis of section B (82 lines): *qatal* = 6; *yiqtol* = 6; *weqatal* = 2; section C (32 lines): *qatal* = 10; *yiqtol* = 13; *weqatal* = 5. These figures are based on the composite text. The individual manuscripts vary in terms of line length and the number of lines per column. As such, the calculations are only a rough guide, which does not correspond to any one manuscript. Note that the newly recognized fragments belonging to 4Q397 do not contain any variants which affect this total, see Eibert Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.668 Frag. 4 Identified As a 4Q397 (4QMMT^D) Fragment,” *RevQ* 26 (2014): 455–59, esp. 457; idem, “Publication of PAM 43.398 (IAA #202) Including New Fragments of 4Q269,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, eds. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar; STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 264–80, esp. 269.

is combined. This yields a frequency equivalent to approximately one finite verb in every 5.4 lines in section B and one finite verb in every 1.8 lines in section C. In other words, finite verbal forms occur almost three times more frequently in section C than in section B. By contrast, predicative participles, functioning as present tense forms, occur at a frequency equivalent to approximately one instance in every 1.9 lines in section B and one instance in every 3.7 lines in section C; that is, almost twice as often in section B. But such statistics are a crude metric, which does not account for differences in context and syntactic function. When these factors are taken into consideration it becomes apparent that there is no distinction between the sections in terms of verbal functions.

The functions and distribution of the yiqtol:

Excluding the periphrastic syntagm *היה* + participle, which will be discussed separately below, *yiqtol*s occur at least six times in section B: *יאכל*, “may be eaten” (B 37); possibly *לוא ידע*, “does not know” (B 54); *לוא יבוא*, “they [may not] enter” (B 65); *לוא יהיו*, “they should be” (B 66); *יגלה*, “shaves” (B 66); *לוא ישב*, “should remain” (B 66); *לוא יהיה*, “[must not] be” (B 78); and probably *לוא יגש*, “[should not] have access” (B 23). They typically express deontic modality (i.e. the permissibility of, or the obligation to perform, a specified action—see below), e.g. *אנחנא חושבים שאיכל את הולד*, “[w]e think that the fetus may be eaten,” B 37 (cf. B 65; B 66 ×2; B 78 and possibly B 23). Otherwise, there are just two instances of indicative *yiqtol* in section B: *יגלה* in B 66 and possibly *ידע* in B 54. In both instances the *yiqtol* can be understood as functioning as a relative future in a hypothetical conditional clause.

In B 66 we find a *yiqtol*, followed by *weqatal*, denoting future time in the temporal clause *שמעת שיגלה וכבס*, “from the moment he (i.e. an individual afflicted with a skin disease) shaves and washes” (B 66). As Qimron noted, variations on the pattern *עת אשר* are attested, albeit rarely, in temporal clauses in LBH and QH (e.g. 2 Chron 25:27; Esth 5:13; Qoh 8:9; 4Q175 21; 11QT^a XXXIII 2; 11QT^a LVIII 2; 4Q418 229 2). Even so, the use of the *yiqtol* in this phrase is, at first glance, perhaps somewhat surprising, since the temporal conjunction *אחר* + *qatal* or noun phrase might be felt to better suit the sequential nature of the action (cf. *ואחרי טהרתו שבעת ימים יספרו לו*, “and after his purification they shall reckon seven days for him,” Ezek 44:26; *ואם נגעה תכבס בגדיה ורחצה ואחר תוכל*, “and if she (i.e. the menstruating woman) touches (something touched by a man with a discharge), she must wash her clothes and bathe, and afterwards she may eat,”

4Q274 i 1:5). Be that as it may, an almost identical use of the *yiqtol* in a conditional clause following מן + עת + relative pronoun is attested in CD X, 15–16, i.e. מן העת אשר יהיה גלגל השמש רחוק מן השער, “from the moment when the sun’s disk is at a distance of its diameter from the gate.” (40) In both CD X, 15–16 and MMT B 66 the *yiqtol* signifies the *irrealis* nature of the action.

ידע in B 54 is more difficult. It occurs in a ruling on whether a blind or deaf person may eat the consecrated food of the priests: כי שלוא ראה ולאו שמע לוא ידע לעשות, “since the one who has not seen and not heard does/will not know what to do (i.e. how to obey the law)” (B 53–54 = 4Q394 8 iv 4; 4Q396 1–2 ii 5). As with B 66, a future-oriented *yiqtol* would be consistent with the *irrealis*, conditional nature of the clause. In this case, however, it is also possible to understand ידע as a quasi-stative verb (see below), i.e. “does not know.” In that case, based on the use of the stative participle יודעים elsewhere in section B, we might expect the participle; however, this does not seem likely on orthographic grounds. For, although 4Q394 is not entirely consistent with regard to the use of plene spellings, one would expect the spelling יודע in this instance (cf. plene לוא earlier in the line). (41) Unfortunately, the beginning of the line is missing in 4Q394 8 iv 4 and only *dalet* and *ayin* remain, while only the initial *yod* remains in 4Q396 1–2 ii 5. As such, the verb must be partially restored. Nevertheless, the relatively straight right-hand margin of 4Q394 suggests it is unlikely that there was both a *waw* and a *yod* before the *dalet*. (42) This would seem to exclude the participle. Alternatively, ידע could be understood as a lone instance of the stative *qatal* (see below).

In section C there are fourteen examples of the *yiqtol*, including at least one instance of deontic modality in C 6 (cf. possibly C 10; see below): יבוא[ן]: “[they] will come” (C 2); the fragmentary [ישנ] (C 3); תביא[ן], “you [must not] bring” (C 6); ימצא[ן], “will be found” (C 9); תבין, “you will/should consider” (C 10); תסור[ן], “you will [stray]”

(40) Compare the sequential use of כאשר + *yiqtol* (cf. כאשר + *qatal* in BH; Joüon-Muraoka, § 166 n): וכאשר יקים אותו עליו, “when he imposes on himself” (CD XV, 12), וכאשר יטהר, “when he is purified” (11QT^a XLV 18). The use of the *yiqtol* following -מש is, however, consistent with MH, see Moshe H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2001), §513, but cf. §310 (hereafter Segal); Miquel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, trans. John Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 207.

(41) But contrast ולא in the preceding line in 4Q396 1–2 ii 4; compare also the series of masculine singular participles in B 14.

(42) Of course, this cannot be considered conclusive due to the narrow dimensions of both letters. It is also theoretically possible that the plene spelling ידע was originally written and subsequently corrected with a supralinear *waw*, which would have no impact on the length of the line.

(C 12); יבוא, “[it will com]e” (C 14); יבואו, “they will come” (C 17); יבואם, “he will bring them” (C 20); ישובו, “they will return” (C 21); ולוא ישובו, “will not return” (C 22); ירשעו, “they will act wick[ed]ly” (C 22); יתקן, “he will straighten” (C 28); תשמח, “you will rejoice” (C 30). (43) Given the damaged context, little can be said about the instances in C 2–3, but, with the exception of the modal use in C 6, each of the remaining instances corresponds to the relative future in a scriptural quotation (C 12–22), or the absolute future of MMT, corresponding to the writers’ admonitory purpose (C 28–30). In other words, the uses of the *yiqtol* as either a modal or future tense form in section C are entirely consistent with those attested in section B. In fact, the relative increase in finite forms can adequately be explained by the future-oriented shift in the paraenetic epilogue, and it is unnecessary to posit a difference in the underlying grammatical systems.

There is only one instance in section C in which a *yiqtol* might be understood to denote present or progressive action as in BH, and that is equivocal. (44) Following the notice of separation in C 7, we read ואתם ידעים שלוא ימצא בידנו מעל ושקר ורעה, “and you [know that no] treachery or deceit or evil can/will be found in us” (C 8–9). (45) Assuming the restoration is correct, the *yiqtol* ימצא is usually translated as a present indicative, i.e. “is/can be found.” (46) But it is equally possible (if not more likely) that the verb conveys the writers’ certainty that their actions would be vindicated in the future, i.e. “no treachery or deceit will be found in us” (cf. the oath: ומרמות וכזבים לא ימצאו בשפתי, “deceit and lies shall not be found on my lips,” 1QS X 22). (47) If so, then every instance of *yiqtol* in section C is future-oriented, suggesting that the participle had fully taken over the domain of present action in MMT.

(43) ידיה in C 3 is almost certainly part of a periphrastic participial phrase (cf. B 12 and B 16).

(44) In section B, we would expect this function to be taken over by the participle.

(45) Even in BH such uses of the *yiqtol* are rare, cf. Christo H.J. van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew References Grammar*; Biblical Languages: Hebrew 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 147.

(46) DJD X, 58, emphasis added; cf. “And you k[now that there is not] to be found in our actions disloyalty or deceit or evil,” Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 801; “And you [know that no] treachery or deceit or evil can be found in our hand (i.e. in us),” Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 1: Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 333; “And you k[now that one cannot find in us any disloyalty, deceit, or evil,” von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 102; “And you k[now that no] treachery or lie or evil is found in our hands,” Gezer Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 7th Edition* (London: Penguin, 2011), 228.

(47) Contrast the subsequent use of the participle to describe customary action in נחננו נותנים [א], “we give.”

“whoever among them revered instruction/the Torah” (C 23–24); **היה מצול מצרות** [ו]תוהם, “he was delivered from troubles” (C 24); **הוא נצל מצרות רבות**, “and also he was delivered from many troubles” (C 26). Such constructions are common in Aramaic, Ben Sira, QH, and MH; however, the syntagm is also attested in BH, where it typically emphasizes the durative nature of the action. (51)

Given the relative increase in the use of finite forms in the epilogue, it is noteworthy that the auxiliary + participle construction is used in C 24 and C 26. (52) That is, the periphrastic construction continues to be used in the epilogue rather than a conjugated finite verb. This further testifies to the consistency with which the participle is used in both sections. The significance of this is unclear, however, since the periphrastic syntagm is relatively common in QH. (53)

The morphology of stative verbs:

Qimron treated the construction **הוא ירא**, “he was one who feared” (C 24) and **והיהו יראים מהמקדש**, “and be full of reverence for the sanctuary” (B 49), as a special class of the periphrastic syntagm discussed above, attributing it to the loss of the stative conjugations in the Second Temple period. (54)

(51) Muraoka, “The Participle in Qumran Hebrew,” 188–204. See also, Wido Th. Van Peursen, “Periphrastic Tenses in Ben Sira,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 158–73; cf. Jonas C. Greenfield, “The ‘Periphrastic Imperative’ in Aramaic and Hebrew,” *IEJ* 19 (1969): 199–210; M.Z. Kaddari, “The Existential Verb *HWH* in Imperial Aramaic,” in *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition*, ed. Michael Sokoloff (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), 43–46.

(52) **הוא נצל מצרות**, “he was delivered from troubles” (C 24); **הוא נצל מצרות רבות**, “he was delivered from many troubles” (C 26).

(53) Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, §H.1.3; Geiger, *Das hebräische Partizip*, §381–§401; Søren Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll: Studies in the Hebrew Verbal System and the Qumran War Scroll*; Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 25 (Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2008), 119–20, 128

(54) DJD X, 79; cf. Martin G. Abegg, “Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment, Vol. 1*, eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 340; Joüon-Muraoka, §112 a; Waltke and O’Connor, §30.5.3 a–b; and the discussion in Van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, 215. It is noteworthy that the syntagm **הוא ירא** is already attested in a number of instances in BH (e.g. 1 Kgs 18:3 [cf. 18:12]; 2 Kgs 4:1; 17:32, 33, 41 [cf. 17:28], chiefly in texts dealing with the Northern Kingdom, see DJD X, 79; cf. Gary Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2002), 79, cf. pp. 99, 103. This may imply dialectal variation in pre-exilic Hebrew, but there is no reason to assume that a Second Temple period audience would have been attuned to such distinctions.

A related development is attested for verbs signifying the writers' cognitive state or attitude, which in MMT are likewise expressed with the participle, e.g. **אתם ידעים**, “you know” (B 68; C 8, largely restored); **אנח[נח]נו חושבים**, “we are of the opinion” (B 37, cf. **חושבים אנחנו** B 42); **אנחנו מכירים**, “we think” (C 20). (55) In BH the *qatal* is typically used in such contexts (e.g. **אתם ידעתם**, “you know,” Gen 44:27; Exod 23:9, etc.). The use of the quasi-stative *qatal* continues in QH (e.g. **והוא ידע**, “he knows,” 1QS IV 25; **כול אשר לוא ידעו**, “all those who do not know,” 1QS V 19). It is also attested in Aramaic. (56) Once again, there is no differentiation between sections B and C in this regard.

There is only one instance in MMT in which a stative *qatal* might be attested, namely **ידע על** in the clause **כי שלוא ראה ולא שמע לוא ידע על**, “for the one who has not seen or heard does/will not know what to do” (B 53). But, as discussed above, **ידע** should probably be interpreted as a *yiqtol*, in keeping with usage elsewhere in MMT.

The use of weqatal:

In MMT there are eight instances of the *weqatal*, or *waw* consecutive. Two instances occur in section B: **שיגלה וכבס**, “when he shaves and washes” (B 66) and **ונעלה ממנו**, “and (the fact) escapes him” (apparently referring to an unintentional transgression, B 69). (57) These are found in free paraphrases of Lev 14:8 and Lev 4:2, respectively. Six instances occur in section C: **וקרתך**, “and (calamities) will meet [you]” (C 12; cf. Deut 31:29); **והיא**, “and it will come to pass” (C 13); **ושבתה**, “and return” (C 15; cf. Deut 31:1–2); **והרחיק**, “and remove” (C 29); **ונחשבה**, “and it will be reckoned” (C 31). (58)

The instances in B 66 and B 69, and C 12 and C 13–15 occur in relatively free quotations of scripture and were possibly reproduced from the source text; but, if so, their retention is noteworthy. More significant is the fact that in C 29–31 we find a series of independent

(55) This mirrors a development in MH wherein the quasi-stative function was largely taken over by the participle, see Segal, §306 and §323; cf. Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, 108, 116–17, but note with Van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, 67, n.4, that the examples offered by Pérez Fernández do not in fact include statives.

(56) See John C. Kesterson, “Tense Usage and Verbal Syntax in Selected Qumran Documents” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1984), 17–21; Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 141; Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezael Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 194 §51 c; Van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, 67–68.

(57) Qimron explains **נעלה** as a “misspelling” of **נעלם**, DJD X, 54.

(58) **והשיבותה אל לבבך**, “and you will take it to heart,” also seems likely in C 15 on the basis of Deut 31:1–2.

forms which cannot be attributed to a quoted source, suggesting that the *weqatal* was a productive feature of the writers' grammar. (59) Nevertheless, it does not necessarily follow that this entailed a conscious emulation of classical style; it may simply have been a feature of the literary register. (60) In any case, the salient point is that *weqatal* is attested in both sections B and C. (61)

Modality:

Variation in the realization of modal expressions was one of the main pillars of Pérez Fernández's argument that sections B and C were the work of different individuals. In his view:

[t]hroughout B the imperative modal form is expressed with the infinitive [...] or using the periphrastic form *לִּרְאוּ* + infinitive (B 12 17 26), but the imperative is never formally used [...] in C the imperative form is used whilst the imperative modal infinitive is not [...] These observations justify us separating methodologically parts B - C 9 [sic.] from C 9-32 in this study. (62)

Yet the syntax and the rhetorical function of the modal expressions are more nuanced than Pérez Fernández's comments seem to recognize.

(59) As noted by the editors (DJD X, p. 78), it is somewhat surprising that there is no evidence of the use of *wayyiqtol* as a narrative past tense (e.g. in C 23–26); however, this may be attributed to the epistolary nature of the work, which resembles spoken discourse; cf. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive*, 58 and 63, n.2; idem, "The Infinitive Absolute as Predicative Verb in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 267. It is notable that the *wayyiqtol* is similarly absent in epistolary texts of the first millennium BCE. I am indebted to Ian Young for this observation.

(60) A similar observation was made in relation to the use of *weqatal* in Ben Sira by Van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*, 142–54, and 406–08. Note that even in BH, where it is most frequently attested, *weqatal* and *wayyiqtol* seem to have been chiefly literary forms, Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive*, 35–63, esp. 63.

(61) As was observed by Qimron (DJD X, 78), there is no instance of *wayyiqtol* as a narrative past tense in either section. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that *wayyiqtol* is proportionally less common than the *weqatal* in QH, overall, owing to the relative paucity of narrative genres in the Scrolls; cf. Abegg, "Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 337, who notes that in BH *weqatal* accounts for 13% of finite verbs, while *wayyiqtol* accounts for 29% of finite verbs; whereas in QH *weqatal* accounts for 16% of finite verbs and *wayyiqtol* accounts for only 8% of finite verbs.

(62) Pérez Fernández, "4QMMT: Redactional Study," 196–97.

In order to appreciate this, it is necessary to draw a distinction between volitivity and other forms of modality. This important distinction was recently described by Edward Cook:

Modals in Hebrew (expressed by the *yiqṭōl* form) I take to have mainly *assertive* or constative force, with reference to the kinds of obligation (deontic, including permission) or certainty (epistemic, including possibility) asserted by the speaker; volitives (jussive, cohortative, imperative) I take to have mainly *directive* force, with reference to the will (wishes, hopes, commands, requests) of the speaker. (63)

In MMT, deontic modality is realized by the infinitive (always with prefixed *-ל*) and the *yiqṭol*. There does not appear to be a clear semantic or syntactic distinction between the two forms, but this might be explained, at least in part, by the expanded modal load carried by the *yiqṭol* in QH. (64) This is supported by the fact that in several instances a modal infinitive corresponds to a modal *yiqṭol* (or *weqatal* following *yiqṭol*) in the scriptural source text: e.g. לרבעה, “to mate,” in B 77 = תרביע in Lev 19:19; לזרוע, “to sow,” in B 78 = תזרע in Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:9. (65) In other cases a modal infinitive corresponds to an analogous biblical expression which would typically use *yiqṭol*: e.g. [אין] לבוא למקדש, “[it is forbidden] to enter the sanctuary” (B 5; cf. B 20), and להביא החטאת, “(that person) should bring a purification offering” (B 69–70), cf. אלפתח אהל מועד יקריב אתו, “(that person) should bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting” (Lev 1:3) והביאה אלבני אהרן הכהנים, “and (that person) should bring it to the sons of Aaron and the priests” (Lev 2:2, *weqatal* following *יהיה*). (66) It may be significant, however, that each instance of modal *yiqṭol* corresponds to a *yiqṭol* (or *weqatal* following *yiqṭol*) in the scriptural source text. (67) In light of this fact, and although I am

(63) Edward M. Cook, “Language Contact and the Genesis of Mishnaic Hebrew,” *The Edward Ullendorff Lectures in Semitic Philology: Fourth Lecture* (Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies; University of Cambridge, 2017), 13.

(64) See, for example, Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 157–58, 196–97, 201.

(65) יהיה in B 78 deserves special attention since it is the second element in a string of three prohibitions based on Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:9–11, and corresponding to *yiqṭols* in the Masoretic Text. The other two elements both use the modal infinitive.

(66) See also: ואין להביא למחני הקודש כלבים, “it is forbidden to bring dogs into the holy camp,” or “dogs must not be brought into the holy camp” (B 58); cf. כי אין לבוא שם, “for it was forbidden to enter the king’s gate clothed in sackcloth” (Esther 4:2), contrast SBH: לא יבא אל־תוך המחנה “they must not enter into the camp” (Deut 23:10).

(67) והסגיר, Lev 13:46; ישב, B 65 = [י]בואו, Lev 22:30; יאכל, B 37 = שא־יאכל, Lev 13:4, 5, etc.; ישהב, B 66 = ישהב, Lev 13:46; ישהב, B 66 = ישהב, Lev 13:46; יהיה, B 78 = יעלה, Lev 19:19; תלבש, Deut 22:11.

reluctant to introduce an *ad hoc* explanation, it is possible that the writers had a mild stylistic preference for the modal infinitive, which was reflected in their inconsistent tendency to update verbal forms in scriptural quotations. (68)

Whatever the case, there is only one unequivocal instance in which a modal *yiqtol* (conjugated in the second person) has a directive force, equivalent to a negative imperative: *א[ל] בִּיתְכֶּה תָּבִיא תּוֹעֵבָה* [שְׁלוֹ], “you [must not] bring an abomination in[to your house]” (C 6). Admittedly, this occurs in the epilogue; however, it is unclear whether *תָּבִיא* reflects a stylistic preference for the imperative, since: (1) it is an isolated instance, (2) it occurs in a direct quotation of Deut 7:26, and (3) it is a standard form of prohibitive command in BH and QH.

Turning to volitivity, morphological imperatives occur five times in MMT, all of them in section C: *זָכוֹר*, “remember,” C 23, 25; *הִתְבַּנֵּן*, “contemplate,” C 23; *הִבֵּן*, “consider,” C 28; *בִּקֶּשׁ*, “seek,” C 28. According to Pérez Fernández, in section B the modal infinitive and the *רָאוּ* + infinitive syntagm (see below) are functionally equivalent to the imperative, and, as such, may be contrasted with the use of the morphological imperative. (69) But, while this might imply a stylistic preference for the imperative in the epilogue, it can satisfactorily be explained on rhetorical grounds.

Contrary to Pérez Fernández’s claim, the modal infinitive and the *רָאוּ* + infinitive syntagm are never used to express a direct command in MMT. Rather, they are used in expressions of deontic modality to present a series of declarative proposals—relating to various matters of halakhic interpretation and cultic praxis—which can be either affirmed or denied, e.g. *וְאֵין לְהָבִי לַמַּחֲנֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ כְּלָבִים*, “one must not bring dogs into the holy camp (i.e. Jerusalem)” (B 58). This distinction is consistent with the writers’ stated aim, which was to persuade their readers to accept their halakhic rulings, as is made explicit in C 28–30:

(68) This may have dialectical and/or diachronic implications, since the modal infinitive is not attested in MH. Such seemingly *ad hoc* updating of syntax is consistent with the treatment of biblical material elsewhere in the Scrolls. See, for example, Steven E. Fassberg, “The Syntax of the Biblical Documents from the Judean Desert as Reflected in a Comparison of Multiple Copies of Biblical Texts,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 94–109; Takamitsu Muraoka, “An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 193–214.

(69) Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 196; idem, “4QMMT: Linguistic Analysis of Redactional Forms Related to Biblical and Rabbinic Language,” 207.

Consider (הבן) all these things and seek (בקש) that he will straighten your counsel and remove from you plans of evil and the counsel of Belial, so that you may rejoice at the end of time when you find that some of our teachings are correct.

Therefore, while it is true that in MMT the use of the morphological imperative is restricted to the epilogue, that is because it is only in the epilogue that the writers make direct demands of their readers. This rhetorical strategy also accounts for the fact that the modal infinitive is not attested in section C, since the focus shifts in the epilogue from deontic modality, relating to obligation, to epistemic modality, relating to the truth-value of the writers' proposition that they were witnessing the eschatological age of the fulfilment of the Deuteronomic blessings and curses (e.g. C 21–22).

The ראי + infinitive syntagm:

The ראי + infinitive syntagm deserves special attention. There are three instances—all of them in section B—in which a modal infinitive has been coupled with ראי, an indeclinable vocable derived from the passive participle of ראה: ר בדבר הזה: ראי, “[For the sons of] the priest[s] should take care concerning this practice” (B 11–12, trans. DJD X); ראי להיון, “For the sons of Aaron should b[e ...]” (B 16–17, trans. DJD X); ראי להיון, “[For the sons of] the priests should [take care] concerning all [these] practices” (B 25–26, trans. DJD X). Strictly speaking, the ראי + infinitive syntagm is of limited value for the present comparative analysis, since it is only attested in section B, but it is worth considering, nonetheless, because Pérez Fernández explicitly contrasted it with the use of the imperative in section C. (70)

Qimron described the syntagm as periphrastic and viewed ראי as superfluous, observing that it could be omitted without affecting the meaning of the sentence. (71) He did not offer an English gloss for ראי, but he compared it to Esther 2:9 and 11QT^a LXVI 9, where רייה/ראייה seems to be an extension of the semantic domain, “designated, set apart, etc.”; e.g. ואת שבע הנערות הראיות לתתלה מבית המלך, “he gave her seven chosen attendants from the king’s household” (Est 2:9); כי יפתה איש נערה בתולה אשר לוא אורשה והיא רייה לו מן החוק, “if a man seduces a virgin who is not betrothed and she is permitted to him by

(70) Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 196.

(71) DJD X, 81, 95.

the law” (11QT^a LXVI 8–9; cf. possibly 1QM XXVII 9). (72) The periphrastic interpretation was rendered more explicit by Pérez Fernández, who understood רָאוּ as a modal auxiliary and defined it in terms of that which is “destined to” or “appropriate for” the priesthood, or that which is “within their competence.” (73) In other words, it signals that which the priests should do as part of their special domain. But that is not how רָאוּ is used in the examples Pérez Fernández cited.

In the rabbinic examples adduced by Pérez Fernández the grammaticalized participle רָאוּ means something like “that which is fitting, suitable, etc.,” e.g. וְהָלֹא אֵינוּ רָאוּ לומר אֵלָּא, “would it not be appropriate (for scripture) to say here...?” or, more literally, “should not scripture be seen to say...?” (Sifre Num 86.1). (74) In such cases, רָאוּ functions as an adverbial adjunct, not an auxiliary. If that acceptance is followed in MMT, then the modal implicature should be understood as being carried by the infinitive alone and the syntax of the clause is entirely consistent with the use of modal infinitives elsewhere in MMT, i.e. “it is fitting (רָאוּ) for the priests to instruct/guard (infinitive) in this matter.” (75) Alternatively, if we follow Qimron and accept something closer to “chosen, set apart, etc.,” as attested earlier in Esther 2:9, then רָאוּ should again be understood as an adjunct, modifying the action by conferring obligation (i.e. “the priests are designated to instruct/guard in this matter”). In either case, רָאוּ is semantically laden and it is mistaken to classify it as a periphrastic modal auxiliary.

It is also worth noting in passing that in 4Q394 3–7 i 15 a clear supralinear yod has been inserted above the *resh*. This suggests that the correcting scribe interpreted רָהוּזָה as a *hiphil*, rather than a *niphal*; a sense that is incompatible with Qimron and Strugnell’s reflexive translation (quoted above). The conjugation of the infinitive was apparently something of a dilemma for Qimron, who wrote, “the *hiphil* conjugation hardly fits here, and a *plene* spelling (רָהוּזָהִיר) would be very surprising, though not impossible.” (76) Yet this dilemma is

(72) DJD X, 47, 95; cf. John Strugnell, “Notes on 1QS 1, 17–18; 8, 3–4 and 1QM 17, 8–9,” *CBQ* 29 (1967): 582. Following Strugnell, Qimron also cited analogous Aramaic constructions using חָזִי, DJD X, 95; Strugnell, “Notes on 1QS 1, 17–18; 8, 3–4 and 1QM 17, 8–9,” 582. It was suggested to me by an anonymous reviewer that the Hebrew syntagm may be a calque from Aramaic. Whatever the case, the salient issue is Qimron’s understanding of its function as periphrastic.

(73) Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Linguistic Analysis of Redactional Forms Related to Biblical and Rabbinic Language,” 207–08.

(74) *Ibid.*, 207–08.

(75) Cf. von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 73.

(76) DJD X, 90. It should be noted that Qimron transcribed the supralinear yod in his more recent transcription of the composite text, Qimron, *Megillot Midbar Yehudah*, 206.

resolved if **ראי** is interpreted as an adjunct in either of the senses described above, since the matter is to be understood as stipulating general oversight, rather than self-regulation.

In any case, as stated above, there is no instance in which the **ראי** + infinitive syntagm would be expected in section C and, as such, it has little bearing on the linguistic profile of the epilogue or the distinctiveness of the two sections.

Temporal clauses of the type -ב + infinitive:

The use of temporal clauses of the type -ב + infinitive could be viewed as a classicizing feature, corresponding to a tendency toward classicism in the epilogue, e.g. **במצאך**, “when you find” (C 30) **בעשותך**, “when you do” (C 31). But at least one clause of this type is also attested in section B: **ועתה בהיות טמאתם עמהם**, “but now, while their impurity is upon them” (B 67 = 4Q396 1–2 iii 7).

The relative complementizer ש/-ש:

ש/-ש is unlike the preceding examples insofar as it entails elements of both syntax and lexis. (77) As noted by Qimron, the consistent use of **-ש** or **ש**, in contrast to BH **אשר**, is the main feature which gives MMT its MH appearance. (78) It seems reasonable to infer that **ש/-ש** was a vernacular or dialectal form, current in the Second Temple period, while **אשר** was a feature of a literary register. (79) This is implied by the routine use of **ש/-ש** in the Bar Kokhba letters. Conversely, the literary quality of **אשר** is supported by the fact that **ש/-ש** is occasionally used as a minority form alongside **אשר** in several other manuscripts from Qumran (e.g. 4Q266 10 i 1, 4Q521 2 ii 11, 11QT^b XII 14). Such admixtures suggest lexical interference. (80) In other words,

(77) See Robert D. Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew*; LSAWS 10 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016), esp. 64.

(78) DJD X, 74

(79) On the possibility that **ש/-ש** was a northern (Israelian) dialectal variant, which was subsequently adopted in Judean Hebrew, see Gary A. Rendsburg, “Morphology: Biblical Hebrew,” in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Vol 2: G–O, 724; cf. DJD X, 74, 96; contrast, David Talshir, “The Habitat and History of Hebrew during the Second Temple Period,” in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*; ed. Ian Young (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 270–21; but cf. Holmstedt, *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew*.

(80) Of particular interest are several instances where the DSS evince **-ש** while the corresponding Masoretic text has **אשר** (e.g. **שספרו**, Judg 6:13 [4Q49, frag 1, line 9], but note **-ש** in Judg 5:7 (2×), 6:17, 7:12, 8:26; **בשלמי**, Jon 1:8 [4Q76, 5 18], but note **בשלמי** in the Masoretic Text of v.7; **שהיו**, Qoh 7:19 [4Q109, III: frag. 1 iii, 6, ii, 7, line 19]; and **שיעשה** [4Q109, III: frag. 1 iii, 6, ii, 7, line 19]), but note the frequent

the use of **אשר** over against **ש-שא** seems to have entailed an element of stylistic choice and, consequently, it was sometimes mistakenly omitted. (81)

The literary quality of **אשר** is supported in at least one instance in MMT. (82) In 4Q394 3–7 ii (frag 7 line 2) we read: [כי ירושלים] [בחר בו] מכול שב[טי ישראל] “*[for Jerusalem] [he has chosen] from all the tri[bes of Israel]*” (B 32–33). (83) This is the only instance in which **אשר** is used in the extant portions of MMT. The expression is derived from a common Deuteronomistic formula (e.g. Deut 12:5); however, where the formula is repeated later in the same manuscript, the relative pronoun is **-ש**, rather than **אשר** (B 60–61 = 4Q394 8 iv 10–11). (84) It seems likely, then, that in 4Q394 3–7 ii **אשר** was subconsciously retained by the copyist as part of the formulaic expression, or else inserted into the formulaic phrase as a matter of personal preference, in order to lend

use of **-ש** in Qohelet, cf. Gary A. Rendsburg, “A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon,” *Orient* 38 (2003), 12–13. Note also two instances where **-ש** appears but the Masoretic Text has no relative pronoun (שלוה, Ps 125:1 [11Q5 IV 1]; and שלוה, Ps 129:8 [11Q5 V 8], note, however, that שלוא occurs in Ps 129:7 but not v.8. In broad terms then, it seems that in the Scrolls **ש-שא** typically occurs in close proximity to places where it is found in the Masoretic Text. I am indebted to Ian Young for this observation.

(81) Note that **-ש** is standard in the Hebrew of the Bar Kokhba letters Yadin et al., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, 18–19. Contrast the preference for **אשר** in analogous expressions in other scrolls, e.g. [ועל] שא כתוב (B 27) // הדבר אשר כתוב (CD VII, 10; XIX, 7); cf. DJD X, p. 95.

(82) There are no other instances in which MMT reproduces a relative clause from a scriptural source text. In several places, however, relative clauses are introduced into the paraphrase, e.g. [אנח]נו חושבים שאיכל את הולד, “[w]e think that the young may be eaten” (B 37, extrapolating from Lev 22:28, 30); [ו]אף כתוב שמעת שיגלה וכסם, “[and] it is written that after shaves and washes” (B 66, in which **-ש** שמעת corresponds to a temporal clause introduced by ואחר, without a complement, in Lev 14:8); [כת]וב, “[it is writt]en that he despises and blas[ph]emes” (B 70, paraphrasing Num 15:31–31); [...], אנחנו אומרים שכול עצם ש, “we say that any bone which...” (B 73, a loose paraphrase of Num 19: 16, 18); ועל בה[מתו הטהור]ה כתוב שלוא לרבעה, “and concerning [ne’s cle]an animal it is written that it must not lie with another species, and concerning one’s clothing it is written that it must not be *ša’atnez*, and one must not sow one’s field and vi[neyard with mixed species]” (B 76–78, conflating Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:9); ואנחנו מכירים שבאו מקצת הברכות והקללות, “we think that some of the blessings and curses have come” (C 20, referencing Deut 30:1–2, etc.). In each case the relative clause is the complement of a participle introducing a citation or a distinctive view of the authors.

(83) The composite text follows 4Q394 3–7 ii 19 at this point. The corresponding section is missing in 4Q397 3 5.

(84) Cf. DJD X, 50.

an air of authority (much like modern archaizing allusions to the *KJV*, e.g. “*thou shalt* not kill”). (85) If the latter, then the inconsistency with which **אשר** is used testifies against a deliberate scripturalizing tendency throughout the manuscript. In either case, despite the fact that **אשר** might be expected as a feature of a supposedly classicizing register, there is no evidence it was ever used in section C.

At the level of syntax, it is notable that the relative pronoun **ש-שא** is regularly used to introduce object clauses, as in MH, e.g. **וְאֵנָּחְנוּ חוֹשְׁבִים שֶׁהַמִּקְדָּשׁ [מִשְׁכַּן אוֹהֵל מוֹעֵד הוּא וְיִשְׁלִי] מַחֲנֶה הֵיא** “and we are of the opinion that the sanctuary is [the tent of meeting and je]rusale[m] is the camp” (B 29–30); **וְאֵנָּחְנוּ מְכִירִים שְׂבָאוֹ מִקְצֵת הַבְּרָכִים וְהַקְלָלוֹת** “and we think that some of the blessings and curses have come” (C 20). (86) In such contexts, BH and QH typically employ **כי**. Once again, sections B and C are consistent in this regard. (87)

Grammatical particles (function words):

Qimron has noted multiple instances in which MMT departs from terms or acceptations found elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see Table 1 (88)). In fact, many of these departures occur at the level of function words: (89)

(85) See also 1 Kgs 8:16, 48; 11:36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 2 Chron 6:6; cf. DJD X, 74.

(86) In this MMT agrees with MH, see Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, 51, 231. The use of the relative complementizer to introduce an object clause is also attested in the Bar Kokhba letters, e.g. **הוּא יִדְעֵן שְׁדִּבְרִי עִמִּי**, “be informed that your case is with me (i.e. under consideration)” (P.Yadin 49:6). It is also known from BH, where it is not limited to post-exilic texts (e.g. Exod 11:7; cf. Ezek 20:26; Qoh 8:14; Neh 3:19). While it is possible that these reflect non-classical dialects (e.g. Qohelet) or a later stage of copying, the fact remains that **כי** continues to be used in such contexts well into the Second Temple period, see recently Martijn Naaier and Dirk Roorda, “Syntactic Variation in Masoretic Hebrew, The Object Clause Reconsidered,” *Journal for Semantics* 25 (2016): 961–71.

(87) Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, §H.4.7.2; Conversely, MMT typically follows BH in using **כי** to introduce a causal clause (B 16, 28, 53, 57, 59, 61; C 9; contrast the use of **ש-שא** in MH), although in one instance (**וְשָׂרְאִי**, C 27 = 4Q398 14–17 ii 3 and 4Q 399 i 11) **-ש** is used to introduce a causal clause. Note, however, that **אשר** is occasionally used as causal conjunction in BH (e.g. Gen 30:18; 31:49; 34:13, 27; 1 Sam 15:15; 26:23; 1 Kgs 3:19; cf. Joüon-Muraoka, §170 e).

(88) Adapted from DJD X, 103.

(89) I’m grateful to an anonymous reviewer of an earlier draft of this article who point this out to me.

Table 1

MMT	QH	Gloss	Reference (MMT)
ש/א-ש	אשר	“who, which, that”	passim
בשל (לוא)	למען/למען אשר לוא; בעבור/בעבור אשר לוא; פן	“in order that/lest”	B 12; 15–16; 26 (prob.); C 30
אף	גם	“also”	passim
מלבוא	מבוא, etc.	“from participating”	C 8
מקצת	מן	“some of”	B 1; 46; 59; 80; C 20; 27; 30
משכתוב	כאשר כתוב	“which is written”	B 76

Significantly, in the majority of such cases the Scrolls typically follow BH usage. (90) As noted by Stephen Fassberg, several of these syntagms seem to be calques on Aramaic compound conjunctions containing *ד-די*. (91) The fact that these forms are distributed relatively evenly throughout sections B and C contraindicates the impression that the epilogue was in some sense more classicizing than the halakhic section.

To pick just one illustration, the conjunction *בשל ש-* (and the negative counterpart *בשל שלוא*) is used in at least three instances to denote purpose in a final clause (B 12; B 15–16; and C 30; cf. B 26, where it is restored). The conjunction is otherwise exceptionally rare in Hebrew, being attested in only Qoh 8:17 and (*בְּשֵׁל אֲשֶׁר*), and P.Mur 46:7. (92) Significantly, BH and QH use a range of alternative conjunctions in such contexts, any of which would have been available to the writers if their aim was to emulate scriptural style in the epilogue, including *למען* and the negative counterparts *פן* and *לבלתי* (e.g. *פן ישיאנו עוון אשמה*, “lest he cause him to bear guilt,” 1QS V 14–15). (93)

(90) DJD X, 103. For *אנו/אנחנו*, see Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, §321.14.

(91) Steven E. Fassberg, “The Nature and Extent of Aramaisms in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Hebrew of the Late Second Temple Period: Proceedings of a Sixth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, eds. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar and Pierre Van Hecke; STDJ 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 15.

(92) Uri Mor, *Judean Hebrew: The Language of the Hebrew Documents from Judea Between The First and Second Revolts* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2015), 253 (in Hebrew; I am indebted to Gary Rendsburg for this reference); see also Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material A* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, The Ben-Zion Dinur Center for research in Jewish History, 2000) §161; Fassberg, “The Nature and Extent of Aramaisms in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls,” 15.

(93) Joüon-Muraoka, §168 *a-i*. Cf. DJD X, 89–90.

Lexis:

A similar pattern can be discerned in the distinctive lexis of MMT (Table 2 (94)):

Table 2

MMT	QH	Gloss	Reference (MMT)
אנחנו	אנו	“we”	B 29; 36; 37; 42; 55; 64; 73; C 9; 20; 26
פרש	סר	“separate”	C 7
הכיר ש-	ידע כי	“think/know that”	C 20
סומה	עור	“the blind”	B 49
זהר	שמר	“guard/oversee”	B 12; 50
להעריבות השמש	לערב, כבוא השמש	“sunset”	B 15

Here, too, the pattern of distribution is spread across both the epilogue and the halakhic section.

Finally, it has been observed that there are differences between sections B and C at the level of lexis, especially with regard to the vocabulary used to introduce citations of scripture. For example, Pérez Fernández noted that “[t]hroughout the Halakhic part, the word *תורה* is surprisingly not used, where as it is in C 24 27 28 [sic.]. The word *ספר* appears 3 times in C 10 and 11 to refer to biblical texts, but never in the previous Halakhic part, in spite of its numerous biblical references.” (95) Von Weissenberg likewise remarked on the variation in the terminology used for laws and rulings, but she offered the more nuanced observation that “the epilogue refers to the Torah as a whole, whereas in the halakhic section individual rulings and their interpretation are discussed, which could explain the different usage of the terms.” (96) Indeed, the latter observation can be taken further, since in section C the purpose of the references to *ספר משה*, “the Book of Moses,” and *ספרי הנביאים*, “the books of the prophets,” is specifically to foreground the Deuteronomistic themes which are emphasized in the epilogue. (97) This function can be contrasted with the citations of scriptural precedent (using the citation marker *כתוב*) which occur

(94) Adapted from DJD X, 103.

(95) Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 197.

(96) von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 113.

(97) Gareth J. Wearne, “What Was the Book of Moses in 4QMMT?,” *CBQ* 82 (2020): 237–55.

in the halakhic section. In short, then, the different terminology can be explained by the different purpose and thematic focus of each section. At the same time, it is worth noting that, outside the scriptural quotations, there is little evidence of conscious emulation of scriptural phrasing in either the halakhic section or the epilogue.

Conclusions and implications

Evidently there was little if any differentiation between sections B and C in terms of their linguistic profile. Certainly, there is nothing to suggest that the syntax of section C was more archaizing than that of section B, or that the writers consciously attempted to emulate scriptural style. The few instances where MMT may show signs of conservatism—such as the use of *weqatal*, or the -ב + infinitive temporal clause—conform to typical conventions of QH. They may belong to a literary register, but they are insufficient in themselves to suggest a classicizing tendency. The matter is moot in any case, since such features are consistently attested in both sections of MMT.

The same is true at the level of grammatical particles and lexis. MMT routinely uses functions words and vocabulary which diverge from BH exemplars, e.g. אף rather than גם, ש-/-ש rather than אשר and כי, or the use of בשל ש- in final clauses. The frequent scriptural quotations in MMT and the use of BH counterparts for these terms elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls suggest that such divergences must have been perceptible to the readers. Conversely, when the writers did employ biblical vocabulary or expressions, it was typically in the context of citations from scripture. In short, then, there is nothing in MMT's lexis to suggest the writers' aim was to emulate classical or scriptural style in either section.

At a textual level, analysis of MMT's syntax reveals the fundamental uniformity of the two sections. It does not necessarily follow that this confirms the unity of sections B and C, in the sense that they were written by the same individual(s) at the same time; however, it does mean that the burden of proof is shifted back to those who would choose to separate the epilogue from the halakhic section. As noted above, this has sociolinguistic implications.

Too little is known about MMT's *Sitz im Leben* for anything but the most cautious of sociolinguistic inferences. Nevertheless, the consistent use of the second person mode of address and the distinctiveness of MMT's lexicogrammar suggest that Qimron was probably not wide of the mark when he described MMT as being written in a vernacular (or perhaps it would be better to say a semi-formal) Hebrew. (98)

(98) This holds true irrespective of whether MMT is understood as a genuine letter.

As Qimron noted, the grammar of MMT is basically consistent with QH, especially at the level of morphology. But it is not identical at the level of syntax. Perhaps the most salient feature of MMT's syntax is its system of verbal tenses, according to which the *qatal* denotes the past tense, the *yiqtol* denotes the future tense, and the participle denotes the present tense. MMT's tense-prominence also extends to the use of participles (with or without auxiliaries) in stative and performative expressions. (99) Yet the systematic nature and extent of MMT's verbal tenses can only fully be appreciated when it is recognized that the epilogue and halakhic sections are entirely consistent with regard to the encoding of time. This system of verbal tenses aligns with Penner's recent conclusion that QH is highly tense-prominent, but whereas we have seen MMT relies heavily on the participle for present states and actions, Penner observed that QH typically uses the *yiqtol* for present action and *qatal* for present states. (100)

It is therefore worth examining the place of MMT within the Cave 4 corpus more closely. Regardless of the nature of the corpus (i.e. whether it was a community library or something else), it is surely significant to find evidence for a vernacular dialect preserved in as many as six copies of a single text, but only one or two other manuscripts (i.e. possibly 4Q448). (101) That is, it is *prima facie* unlikely that the six copies of MMT reflect a chance intrusion into such a large and diverse assemblage. Moreover, as noted above, the repeated copying of MMT allows us to glimpse the relative stability of the text. While we should be careful not to lean too heavily on historicizing assumptions about how language or texts might be expected to change over time, there were presumably opportunities during the copying process for the vocabulary and syntax to be adjusted toward QH if that was desired. The fact that it was not suggests that the copyists were comfortable with MMT's distinguishing features. This is all the more noteworthy if Yardeni was correct to connect the copyist of 4Q397 with other Qumran manuscripts. (102) After all, the heterogeneous character

(99) The latter stands in contrast to usage elsewhere in the Scrolls.

(100) Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 196.

(101) We might also compare the Copper Scroll (3Q15), which is an outlier from the Qumran corpus and in any case, not part of the Cave 4 assemblage.

(102) See, especially, Ada Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions: Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform*, ed. Meir Lubetski (Sheffield: Phoenix, 2007), 287–98, esp. 290 and 295. It is not in itself remarkable that a scribe, especially one working as a copyist, would be capable of reproducing multiple distinctive linguistic profiles. After all, the copyists of the Hebrew Bible were perfectly capable of preserving different registers and styles, cf. Gary Rendsburg, "The Strata of Biblical Hebrew," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 17 (1991): 81–99. I am indebted to Ian Young for this observation. Conversely, Raymond has recently illustrated the danger

of QH's morphology and orthography is also reflected in the manuscripts of MMT. Yet, when viewed in light of its interconnectedness with the Cave 4 corpus, the stability of MMT seems to imply the coexistence of multiple distinct registers in the late Second Temple period.

Granted MMT resembles a form of spoken Hebrew, it is plausible that QH, broadly construed, reflects a literary register (or registers). The latter was apparently characterized—at least at the level of verbal syntax—by its general avoidance of vernacular features, including *inter alia* present predicative participles (including stative participles), resulting in an exaggerated and compensatory use of the *qatal* and *yiqtol*. (103) Importantly, the diglossic explanation is compatible with arguments that QH reflects a living form of Hebrew from the Late Second Temple Period. (104) Of course, the possibility remains that these features should be traced to distinctive dialects or sociolects, and, as is increasingly being emphasized, we should be wary of reducing the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls to a simple binary system; nevertheless, a register-based approach seems to have considerable explanatory power with regard to the distinctive lexicon of MMT.

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of imposing too rigid an expectation of similarity on the scrolls, even when copied by a single individual. See Reymond, "The Scribe of 1Qs, 1QSa, 1QSb, 4Q53 (4QSam^c), 4Q175," 238–54.

(103) Cf. Penner, *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 196–98.

(104) Qimron, "The Nature of DSS Hebrew and Its Relation to BH and MH," 222.

JÓZEF TADEUSZ MILIK AND THE PUBLICATION OF THE QUMRAN FRAGMENTS OF THE ARAMAIC TESTAMENT OF LEVI ⁽¹⁾

Abstract

The goal of this study is to discuss and critically evaluate the history of the identification and publication of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, a Jewish priestly composition from the Second Temple period. The role of Józef Tadeusz Milik in the identification, position on the plates, and publication of the Qumran manuscripts of this priestly and scribal text from cave 4, together with his opinions on the manuscript division, has been acknowledged. After the evaluation of the publication of the Aramaic fragments of this priestly composition (4Q213–4Q214b) by M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield in DJD XXII, the article discusses, in some detail, Milik's opinions about the date, composition and division of the Aramaic manuscripts expressed in his unpublished monograph on the Aramaic Testament of Levi. The study leads to the conclusion that Milik's monograph containing important insights must be published so that a new edition of the Levi composition that will remedy the shortcomings of the earlier treatment of all the manuscripts may be prepared.

The project is funded by the Minister of Science and Higher Education within the program under the name "Regional Initiative of Excellence" in 2019–2022, project number: 028/RID/2018/19, the amount of funding: 11 742 500 PLN.

(1) Milik called this Aramaic composition either "The Aramaic Testament of Levi" or "The Visions of Levi." The label "Aramaic Levi Document" goes back to the 1990s and was introduced by Greenfield and Stone; yet, without their undertaking any analysis of the literary forms inherent in the Aramaic text. For the literary forms found in the Levi text and the reasons for considering the title "Visions of Levi," in accordance with Milik's suggestions, as well as for the whole literary composition, see Henryk Drawnel, "The Literary Characteristics of the *Visions of Levi* (so-called Aramaic Levi Document)," *JAJ* 1 (2007): 303–19. Since the present article mostly deals with Milik's work on the Qumran fragments of the Jewish priestly composition that lacks its beginning and end, the preferred name used here is "The Aramaic Testament of Levi," which follows Milik's "le Testament de Lévi en araméen."

JÓZEF Tadeusz Milik, the Polish scholar invited by Roland de Vaux, OP, to join the group of Qumran scholars in 1951, applied his philological talent and paleographic genius to the Dead Sea scrolls for most of his life. Taking part in the archaeological expeditions, sorting out the fragments in Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, ordering them according to paleographic criteria, he acquainted an intimate knowledge of the Qumran scrollery. His brilliant reconstructions of the fragments and exceptional paleographic skills earned him the fame as the “fastest man with a scroll.” One of his identifications concerns a Jewish apocryphon from the Second Temple period whose content concentrates on Levi, the patriarch of the priestly tribe. The notes that follow contain a short presentation of the non-Qumran manuscripts of the Levi composition and Milik’s work with the overlapping 4Q fragments in the long process of their edition brought eventually to completion by other scholars.

1. Cairo Genizah Codex and Its Greek Translation

In 1896, Solomon Schechter discovered and then acquired the huge trove of the Cairo Genizah Jewish medieval manuscripts, most of which were successively brought to Cambridge. Among them a new Jewish Aramaic composition, up till then unknown, was quickly identified. (2) Soon after the publication of the first bifolium of the codex, (3) it turned out that the medieval manuscript, dated no earlier than the 9th c. CE, contained a piece of literary work that must have served as a source for the Greek composers of the Testament of Levi. (4) One *folium* of the same parchment codex (Ms Heb c 27

(2) The manuscript was identified in February 1899 by H. L. Pass, see H. L. Pass and J. Arendzen, “Fragment of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi,” *JQR* 12 (1900): 651–61, at 651, n. 5.

(3) Pass and Arendzen, “Fragment of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi,” 654–60. The two scholars additionally identified and published a short Syriac excerpt of Aramaic Levi (vv. 78–81) preserved in the Syriac manuscript Ms. Add. 17,193 dated to 874 CE and held at the British Museum, London; see Pass and Arendzen, “Fragment of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi,” 653, 657.

(4) Since the publication of the first fragment of the Levi composition from the Cairo Genizah, scholars have discussed its relation to the text of the Greek Testament of Levi, see, e.g., Wilhelm Bousset, “Ein aramäisches Fragment des Testamentum Levi,” *ZNW* 1 (1900): 344–46; Israel Lévi, “Notes sur le texte araméen du Testament de Lévi récemment découvert,” *REJ* 54 (1907): 166–80; M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin*; VGTB 25 (Assen: Van Gorcum/Hak-Prakke, 1953), 38–52, 129–31; Detlev Haupt, “Das Testament des Levi: Untersuchungen zu seiner Entstehung und Überlieferungsgeschichte” (PhD diss., Martin Luther Universität, 1969); Marinus de Jonge, “Notes on Testament

f. 56) found its way to the Bodleian library in Oxford, while the *bifolium*—to the Cambridge University Library, where it is now stored in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit under the catalogue number T-S 16.94. (5) Although the codex preserves a considerable amount of text, the beginning and end of the Aramaic composition are unfortunately missing. Soon after the discovery of the Aramaic manuscript, scholars came to know a Greek minuscule, ms. Koutloumous 39, dated to the 11th c., that in the portion containing the Testament of Levi had at 18:2 a long insertion which translated word for word a part of the Aramaic composition from the Cairo Genizah. (6) A large portion of the Greek insertion (vv. 31b–67) renders the same Aramaic composition not preserved in the available manuscript from Cairo, and the character of the section does not leave any doubt as to the original Aramaic substratum that underlies the Greek version.

2. Qumran Discovery and First Publications by Milik

In 1955, Milik announced for the first time the presence of the manuscripts of the Aramaic Testament of Levi at Qumran in caves one

of Levi II–VII,” in *Travels in the World of the Old Testament: Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Matthieu S.H.G. Heerma van Voss, Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate, and Nico Adriaan Van Uchelen; SSN 16 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 132–45.

(5) The three *folia* were published by Robert Henry Charles and Arthur Cowley, “An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs,” *JQR* 19 (1907): 566–83. Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, “Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi from the Geniza,” *RB* 86 (1979): 214–30, corrected many paleographic readings of the Bodleian and Cambridge manuscripts and published the plate with the Cambridge section. Émile Puech, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen de la Geniza du Caire,” *RevQ* 20 (2002): 511–56, studied the Aramaic manuscript from the Cairo Genizah and added several new readings. In his later publication, he added new paleographic comments on the Cambridge *bifolium* of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, see idem, “Le Testament de Lévi araméen, Cambridge a – b et f. Corrigenda et addenda,” *RevQ* 23 (2008): 543–61. The opinion that the Levi composition was originally written in Hebrew and then translated into Aramaic persisted since the Cairo Genizah discoveries until the publication of the Qumran fragments, see, e.g., Charles and Cowley, “An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs,” 567–69; Pierre Grelot, “Le Testament araméen de Lévi est-il traduit de l’hébreu? À propos du fragment de Cambridge, col. c 10 à d 1,” *REJ* 14 (1955): 91–99.

(6) A part of the Greek manuscript that runs parallel to the Aramaic text was published by Charles and Cowley, “An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs,” 566–83. Robert Henry Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), 245–57, published the full text of the insertion found in ms. Koutloumous 39. For a more recent critical edition of the insertion, see Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text. In Cooperation with H. W. Hollander, H. J. de Jonge, Th. Korteweg; PVTG 1/2* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 46–48, n. to T. Levi 18:2.

and four. (7) He published the surviving three lines of 1Q21 frg. 3 that overlap with the Bodleian part of the Genizah codex, col. a, ll. 2 (or 3), 5–6, 8–9 (vv. 4–6). (8) Thus, it became apparent that the Qumran scroll preserves the same composition discovered in the Cairo Genizah, (9) but much earlier than the medieval codex “d’une dizaine de siècles.” (10) In this article he also announced the publication of all the fragments of 1Q21 in the forthcoming first volume of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* that would appear later in the same year. In that volume he edited under the title “Testament de Lévi” sixty tiny fragments of which the first eight he tentatively identified as making part of the Levi composition, (11) pointing to other possible connections in frgs. 26 (Bodl. a, 1), 30 (נור) “fornication” in Bodl. b, 16 = v. 16 in the Greek version; T. Levi 9:9; 14:4), and 32 together with 37 (description of the heavens in T. Levi, chs. 2 and 3). (12) He additionally stated the anteriority of

(7) J. T. Milik, review of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin*, by Marinus de Jonge, *RB* 62 (1955): 297–98, at 298: “À vrai dire, j’ai identifié dans le lot de la grotte 4 les restes de plusieurs exemplaires du *Testament de Lévi* en araméen (sous la forme conservée par le texte de la Guéniza du Caire).”

(8) J. T. Milik, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân (Pl. IV),” *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406, at 398. When transcribing the three lines of 1Q21 frg. 3, Milik added three circlets above the Aramaic letters in l. 3 and beneath it in n. 2 he adds an explanation: “Lettres surmontées d’un point: lecture probable; d’un cercle: lecture incertaine.” This was, together with the application of the siglum 1Q21, one of the first explications of the graphic system for the designation of the fragmentary Qumran manuscripts and uncertain readings devised by Milik and consistently applied in the first volume of the *Discoveries*, see Dominique Barthélemy, OP and Józef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I: With Contributions by Roland de Vaux, O.P., G. M. Crowfoot, H. J. Plenderleith, G. L. Harding*; DJD I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 46–48. The system had to be conceived earlier for already in the precedent number of the *Revue Biblique*, it is partly applied to Qumran manuscripts, see J. T. Milik, “Un contrat juif de l’an 134 après J.-C.,” *RB* 61 (1954): 182–90.

(9) It seems that Milik was the first scholar who proposed already in 1951, without any previous knowledge of the content of Qumran caves 1 and 4 that the Cairo Genizah manuscripts of the Levi composition may have come from a copy of a scroll found in the vicinity of Qumran around 800 AD, as reported in a letter of the Nestorian patriarch Timotheus I, see Józef T. Milik, “The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of the Book of Enoch,” *Bib* 32 (1951): 393–400, at 399, n. 2 and idem, “1Q21. Testament de Lévi,” in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik; DJD I (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 87–91, Pl. XVII, at 88. He later nuanced his opinion by assuming the possibility of an uninterrupted manuscript transmission in the course of around ten centuries separating the Qumran copies from the Cairo Genizah manuscripts; see idem, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen,” 405, n. 3.

(10) Idem, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen,” 398.

(11) One should note that only frg. 3 unquestionably overlaps with Bodl. a, 1–9 (vv. 4–6).

(12) Milik, “1Q21. Testament de Lévi,” 90.

the Levi composition in relation to the book of Jubilees and the book of Enoch, yet without giving any reasons for the date.

Table 1. Milik's identification of 1Q21 in relation to other manuscripts of the Levi composition (13)

1Q21 Fragments	Bodleian	Mt. Athos	T. Levi	Jub.
1			8:11 (?)	
1, l. 2	col. c, ll. 3ff.?	vv. 65–67?		16:18; 33:20?
3	col. a, ll. 2 (or 3), 5–6, 8–9 (vv. 4–6)			
4 (= 4Q ms.) (14)	col a, l. 15ff. (v. 9)		9:4 (?)	32:4–9?
5	col. a, l. 14 (v. 8)?			
6	a, l. 17 (v. 9)?			
7 (with frg. 1?)			8:11ff.?	
8			2:1ff.; 6:3ff.?	30:1?
26	a, l. 1?			
30 (CD iv 17?)	b, l. 16	v. 16	9:9; 14:5ff.	
32+37 (= 4Q ms.) (15)			chs. 2–3	

In the same article announcing the publication of 1Q21, Milik made known the existence of three additional manuscripts of the Aramaic Testament of Levi discovered in cave 4. Table 2 presents a short description of the manuscripts based on his first approach and understanding of available evidence.

(13) For further paleographic notes and fragment identifications, see Émile Puech, "Notes sur le 'Testament de Lévi' de la grotte 1 (1Q21)," *RevQ* 21, no. 2 (82) (2003): 297–310.

(14) 4Q213b 4.

(15) Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*; EJL 9 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), 44, links the two fragments with the narrative after the end of Levi's prayer, 4Q213 1 ii 15–18 (= 4Q213a frg. 2 15–18 [DJD XXII]). His identification may reflect only the mention of the lexeme "heavens" in 1Q21 frg. 32 and 4Q213 1 ii 15–16; for the textual correspondence between 1Q37 2 and 4Q214b frg. 7 2, see Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*; JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 204.

Table 2. Manuscripts of the Aramaic Testament of Levi according to Milik (1955)

Qumran	Description	Overlapping		
		Bodleian	Cambridge	Koutloumous 39
4QLevi ^a	1 frg., 6 ll.;	a, 7–21 (vv. 6–9)		
4QLevi ^b	1 frg.; 2 cols., 18 l. in a column; 2nd/1st c. BC			T.Levi 2:3 insertion
4QLevi ^c	The same hand as 4QLevi ^b ; many frgs.; 22 ll. in a column			
	Frg. (1)	d, 1–15 (vv. 25–30)		
	Frg. (2) (16) i		e, 4–f, 19 (vv. 82–95)	
	Frg. (2) ii		last two words of col. f	
	Frg. (3) = T.Levi 14:1ff.			

The information provided by Milik about the three new manuscripts of the Levi composition was rather terse and limited to less than a paragraph, but some important points were made. The Qumran scrollery yielded more than one manuscript of the Aramaic text, which proved beyond any doubt not only the antiquity of the composition but also the interest the inhabitants of Qumran took in this priestly text. His first insight into the fragmentary evidence distinguishes two fragments that on paleographic grounds had to be assigned to two different manuscripts: 4QLevi^a and 4QLevi^b. The second fragment (4QLevi^b) composed of two columns that Milik publishes in the remaining part of the article was dated to the end of the second or beginning of the first c. BC. Since the same scribal hand was ascribed to the third manuscript (4QLevi^c) composed of many fragments, it was also dated to the same period.

The publication of the manuscript 4QLevi^b that contains Levi's prayer constitutes the kernel of the article where Milik gives the Aramaic text, a plate with the photo of the fragment, French translation and

(16) The numbers (2), (3), and (4) in round brackets do not stem from Milik's article, but I assigned them to the fragments he describes in the order of their presentation to facilitate the reference to them in the course of the study here.

preliminary comments on the fragment. He interprets the Aramaic fragment with the help of its Greek version found in the same Greek manuscript Koutlounous 39 from Mt. Athos, inserted into the text of the Testament of Levi at T. Levi 2:3. (17) He republishes the Greek text that evidently makes part of the Levi composition, not of the Greek Testament of Levi, a second c. AD Judeo-Christian text that uses the Aramaic Levi as its source text. After having given the interpretation of the toponym Abel Main found in the Qumran manuscript after the prayer account, Milik noted that except for 4QLevi the Qumran scrollery had not preserved any remains of a Semitic original of the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs so that their pre-Christian origin should be questioned. Finally, he observed that the Christian redactor of the Testaments summarized and slightly glossed the Aramaic Testament of Levi so that its literary structure served as a model for the other eleven testaments. (18)

Milik wrote this short preliminary description of 4Q evidence as an introduction to the publication of the two columns of 4QLevi^b that contain Levi's prayer for he evidently considered the information about

(17) The Geek insertion used by Milik was first published in Robert Henry Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Translated from the Editor's Greek Text and Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), 29, n. to T. Levi 2:3; for a more recent critical edition of the insertion, see de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1978), 25, n. to T. Levi 2:3. Milik ("Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," 399, n. 2) acknowledges his debt to John Strugnell for the identification of the Greek version of the Aramaic prayer. There also exists the third insertion into the ms. Koutlounous 39 Greek Testament of Levi at 5:2, see Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 37, n. 6 and de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1978), 30. Since there is no corresponding Aramaic text preserved either in the Cairo Genizah or in the Qumran fragments, its belonging to the text of the Levi composition is possible but not proven; see idem, "Notes on Testament of Levi II–VII," 139–40, n. 24; Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 49–50.

(18) Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," 405–6. Milik's opinion concerning the relationship between the Aramaic text and the Greek Testament of Levi is necessarily simplified. The Aramaic composition has a decidedly different literary form than the Greek Testament of Levi where a Judeo-Christian redactor moulded the Aramaic text into the testamentary form; for the literature concerning the literary form of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, see notes 1 and 44 in this article. Examining the composition of the Twelve Patriarchs a few years earlier, de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (1953), 38–52, does not propose a direct textual relationship between the Jewish Testament of Levi (which he considers to be an Aramaic translation from a Hebrew original [pp. 129–31]) and the Christian Testament of Levi, but speaks about an independent written source, "Original Levi," from which the two (including probably Jubilees 30–32) have derived. In his later study that took into consideration Levi's Aramaic prayer published by Milik, de Jonge, "Notes on Testament of Levi II–VII," 142, essentially upholds his 1953 conclusions. It seems, though, that a more direct relationship between the two, closer to the one proposed by Milik, should be posited. For a review of scholarly opinions concerning the relationship between these compositions, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*, 4–6.

the manuscripts as a necessary interpretive background and not a final and definitive evaluation of available evidence concerning the Aramaic manuscripts of the Levi composition. The reader has the impression that what the Polish scholar calls the third manuscript (4QLevi^c) composed of many fragments is a generalizing construct that had to be revised in his later research on the manuscript evidence.

In fact, in 1966, Milik modified his division of the fragments of the Levi composition from cave 4. In an article in which he published several Qumran fragments, he commented on the first line of 4Q Ps 89 that in his opinion had been repeated from the end of the precedent column as a form of catchword, a scribal custom known among others in 4Q Test Levi. This reference constituted a good occasion for him to mention in a note that the fragmentary evidence of three manuscripts of 4QTestLevi described in his 1955 article belongs in fact to one sole manuscripts labelled now 4Q213 Test Levi^a. (19) Then he added that in his ongoing work on the manuscripts he had been able to identify several fragments of a second manuscript of the same composition, 4Q214 Test Levi^b. (20) This new understanding of the manuscript division was not accompanied by any publication of the fresh evidence.

It seems that Milik did not change his opinion concerning the Qumran manuscripts of the Levi composition within the next ten years, the latter part of which was dedicated in his research to the books of Enoch found in Qumran cave 4. In his book on the Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch that appeared in 1976, he published an Aramaic fragment of the Testament, 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2b–8a, and dated it to the second c. BC together with the fragment published in his 1955 article, that is the prayer of Levi. (21) This information confirms his 1966 note and shows that Milik ceased to label the Aramaic manuscript with Levi's prayer 4QLevi^b,

(19) Józef T. Milik, "Fragment d'une source du Psautier (4Q Ps 89) et fragments des Jubilés, du Document de Damas, d'un phylactère dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *RB* 73 (1966): 94–106, at 95, n. 2.

(20) Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten: Band 1* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 192, resumes the information about the Qumran manuscripts and in his composite edition of the Levi composition (pp. 193–209) republishes Levi's prayer (193–94); see also Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts: (Second Century B.C. – Second Century A.D.)*; *BibOr* 34 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 80–90 (text and English translation of 4Q21 and 4QTL^a [Levi's prayer]), 202–204 (text description and bibliography).

(21) See Józef T. Milik, with the collaboration of Matthew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 23 and n. 1: "This manuscript dates from the second century. I have published an important fragment from it in *RB* lxii (1955), 398–406" (that is Levi's prayer labelled in that article 4QLevi^b [HD]).

and stopped considering it as the sole fragment making part of that manuscript. 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2a–8b published in his 1976 book evidently was in 1955 assigned by Milik as making part of 4QLevi^c (cf. Table 1: Frg. [3] = T.Levi 14:1ff.) and paleographically classified together with 4QLevi^b. Since he did not discuss in any detail the relationship between Levi's prayer and 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2a–8b, one cannot ascertain the reason for his different opinion concerning the latter text. Most probably, Milik's further paleographic scrutiny of the fragments led to his change of mind in this respect.

In the DJD XXII, Levi's prayer is labelled as 4QLevi^b ar (4Q213a) frgs. 1 and 2 and makes part of a manuscript distinct from 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2a–8b published in the DJD XXII as 4QLevi^a ar (4Q213) frgs. 3 and 4. (22) The editors did not refer to Milik's ascription of Levi's prayer to the same manuscript with 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2a–8b, that is 4QLevi^a ar (4Q213) frgs. 3 and 4. In a similar way, their first discussion of the Aramaic text of the Levi's prayer omitted Milik's paleographic opinion. (23) They published the text of the prayer as making part of 4Q213a on the basis of the plates and photographs of the plates they inherited from the first team of the DSS editors, (24) in the case of the Levi composition, from Milik. Yet, it is not certain to which extent the publishers followed his understanding of the division of the fragments into manuscripts as disposed on the plates.

In the DJD edition, lines 5–8 of 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2a–8b became lines 1–4 in 4QLevi^a ar frg. 4 (4Q213 frg. 4), a fragment composed of nine lines. (25) Lines 5–9 were not published by Milik in his 1976 book for he was interested in the purported allusion to the Book of the Watchers in 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 6–7 (= 4Q213 4 2–3) and to the more evident connection of the content of the column with T.Levi 14:3–4 (26).

(22) See Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George Brooke et al.; DJD XXII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–72, Pl. I–IV, at 27–33 and 20–23. They also divide the text of the prayer into two fragments, frg. 1 and frg. 2. Since Levi's prayer comes from one piece of leather that was originally stitched together, with stitch holes still visible, Milik's division into two columns of the same fragment should rather be kept.

(23) See idem, "The Prayer of Levi," *JBL* 112 (1993): 247–66.

(24) See idem, "The Second Manuscript of *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran (4QLevi^b aram)," *Le Muséon* 109 (1996): 1–15, at 1: "Fragments of this manuscript are found on two plates. Five fragments of it occur on PAM 43.242 and one fragment of it on PAM 34.243. Two adjoining fragments from the first plate (PAM 43.242) were published by Milik in 1955." The article containing 4Q213a was republished with minor changes in idem, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 25–36. The editors do not discuss palaeographic homogeneity of the fragments that make part of this manuscript.

(25) See idem, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 21–22.

(26) See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 23 and n. 2.

Lines 2–4 of 4QTestLevi^a 8 iii 2a–8b were published in the DJD XXII as a separate fragment, 4QLevi^a ar frg. 3 2–4 (4Q213 frg. 3). (27) The sole fragment of 4QLevi^a corresponding to Bodl. a, 7–21 (vv. 6–9) mentioned by Milik in his 1955 article became in the DJD edition 4QLevi^c ar (4Q213b), (28) remaining a manuscript composed of one fragment only, in accordance with Milik’s initial classification.

In his 1955 article Milik included some other fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi that were later treated by Stone and Greenfield. Composed of six lines that overlap with Bodl. a, 7–21 (vv. 6–9), 4QLevi^a was published in DJD XXII as a separate manuscript, 4QLevi^c ar (4Q213b), (29) in accordance with Milik’s opinion. Although the editors exclude from their reconstruction l. 1 of the fragment as containing a text different from Bodl. a, 7–8, (30) the preserved text properly overlaps with Bodl. a, 7–21 (vv. 6–9). (31) Milik did not give the date of the manuscript and the editors cite first the opinion by F. M. Cross who decided for the same hand as that of 4QLevi^b ar (4Q213a), that is late Hasmonaeen. The editors disagree but their ultimate judgment that “the hand is of the same Hasmonaeen type, resembling that illustrated by Cross, ‘Jewish Scripts’, 176, nos. 3–4,” essentially follows Cross’s opinion. (32)

The fragment (2) containing two columns of text and overlapping with Camb. cols. e, 4–f, 19 (Athos, vv. 82–95) was classified in 1955 as making part of 4QLevi^c, while in DJD XXII it was published as the first text in 4Q213 (frg. 1 i–ii) (33) followed by 4QLevi^a ar (4Q213) frg. 3. Such an association follows Milik’s decision made in 1955 to read the 4QLevi^c (frg. 2) together with frg. (3). However, in the case of 4QLevi^c frg. (1) that overlaps with Bodl. d, 1–15 (Mt. Athos, vv. 25–30), the situation is different. The fragment was published in DJD XXII as the second fragment in 4QLevi^d (4Q214) ar frg. 2, (34) which

(27) Thus, the publishers separated the two fragments considered by Milik as being part of one column. They commented on the separation of the two in the following manner: “Milik, *Books of Enoch*, p. 23 puts Frag. 4 right below Frag. 3 and he also omits l. 1 of Frag. 3. His overall exposition of this text is not convincing,” see Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, “The First Manuscript of *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran (4QLevi^a aram),” *Le Muséon* 107 (1994): 257–81, at 275, n. 22; see also the republished note together with the whole article in idem, “A. Aramaic Levi Document,” 21, n. 37. The editors do not explain why Milik’s join of the two fragments into one column is not convincing.

(28) Idem, “A. Aramaic Levi Document,” 37–41. The editors overlook Milik’s classification of this fragment in their publication.

(29) Ibid., 37–41.

(30) Ibid., 40.

(31) See Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 181.

(32) Stone and Greenfield, “A. Aramaic Levi Document,” 37.

(33) Ibid., 5–15.

(34) Ibid., 46–49.

plainly shows that 4QLevi^c of Milik's 1955 publication was further subdivided. The editors do not explain the reasons for their grouping together the four fragments now labelled 4Q214. They only state, without giving specific reasons for their decision, that "Four fragments have been identified as coming from this manuscript, all found on PAM 43.243." (35) In their paleographic description, they cite F. M. Cross opinion that "the script of the fragments resembles that of 4QLevi^b ar" (4Q213a) and "this would place it in the category of the same Hasmonaean type of writing as that manuscript and 4QLevi^c (4Q213b)." (36) From that prudent analysis one can conclude that the three manuscripts stem from the same Hasmonaean period, a rather large swath of time for Qumran paleography.

Table 3. Milik's publications of the Levi composition in relation to DJD XXII

1955	1976	DJD XXII
4QLevi ^a		4QLevi ^c ar (4Q213b)
4QLevi ^b cols. i–ii	(4QTestLevi ^a ?)	4QLevi ^b ar (4Q213a) frgs. 1 and 2
4QLevi ^c (frg. 1)		4QLevi ^d (4Q214) frg. 2
4QLevi ^c (frg. 2)		4QLevi ^a ar (4Q213) frg. 1 i–ii
4QLevi ^c (frg. 3)	4QTestLevi ^a 8 iii 2–4	4QLevi ^a ar (4Q213) frg. 3 2–4
4QLevi ^c (frg. 3)	4QTestLevi ^a 8 iii 5–8	4QLevi ^a ar (4Q213) frg. 4 1–4

During the 1976 Louvain conference Milik reviewed the pre-Essenian pseudepigraphic compositions discovered at Qumran in which he spoke about the Enochic and priestly traditions and then continued with "le Testament de Lévi" that contains references to the accusations found in the Books of Enoch and to the "Book of Noah." There he stated that the Aramaic text of the Testament (or Visions) of Levi was in its major part recoverable: Cairo Genizah codex, numerous fragments of five scrolls provenanced from the Qumran scrollery, of which two

(35) Ibid., 43. The editors add to the four mentioned fragments a fifth one (p. 51, pl. III) for they claim that it has been ascribed to 4Q214. Basing their judgment of the handwriting, they are convinced that it does not belong to either of the manuscripts published above (they do not precisely inform which ones they have in mind). Its publication therefore with other fragments of the Levi composition seems not to be justified. The editors also do not explain who ascribed frg. 5 to 4Q214. According to Milik's publication of the fragment in his monograph on the Aramaic Testament of Levi, frg. 5 does belong to this Aramaic composition and has a well-defined place in its structure, see Table 4 (4QAL^a 8 III 16–21).

(36) Ibid., 44.

scrolls, each composed of one fragment, were recently identified. (37) Thus, his 1955 information about three manuscripts of the Aramaic Testament of Levi was enriched by two other fragments apparently belonging to two different manuscripts, but more information and their further identification were lacking. (38) The first three must have denoted 1Q21, 4Q213 and 4Q214.

Although limited information can be gleaned from Milik's early publications (1955, 1966, 1976, 1978), the comparison of this information with volume XXII of the DJD series shows beyond any doubt that the publication of all Qumran fragments of the Levi composition relies on Milik's previous work with the manuscripts, with substantial changes concerning the relationship between the fragments, though. The subtitle of the DJD volume states that the fragments published in the volume are "partially based on earlier transcriptions by Jozef (39) T. Milik and John Strugnell." (40) One can deduct from the statement that the publication of the Levi composition from Qumran must have relied on Milik's earlier transcriptions and on his disposition of the fragments on the plates. The two editors explicitly confirm this reliance in the case of 4Q214a: "The assembly of the fragments on the plate and the joins have been very well done, and the editors wish to express their appreciation of this work carried out, it seems, by J. T. Milik." (41)

3. Further work on Qumran priestly literature and unfortunate administrative perturbances

Except for working on his publication of the Aramaic books of Enoch from Qumran in the 1970s, (42) Milik made known to the scholarly

(37) Józef T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46 (Leuven; University Press, 1978), 91–106, at 95: "Il y a en premier lieu deux beaux morceaux provenant de la Guénizah du Caire et en deuxième lieu d'assez nombreux fragments de cinq rouleaux provenant du scriptorium qumranien, dont deux, chacun représenté par un fragment isolé, d'identification récente."

(38) The first part of Milik's unpublished monograph on the Levi composition contains two manuscripts, each composed of one fragment, that might be identified with those about which Milik spoke in 1976. The first is 4QLeviaram^c (now 4Q540 frg. 1) and the second 4QLeviaram^d (now 4Q548 frg. 1 i–ii); see § 5 of this research. Except for other non-Qumran manuscripts, Milik also mentions "quelques citations grecques et arabes," most probably included in his unpublished monograph.

(39) The correct name is "Józef."

(40) George J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4—XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3: In Consultation with James C. VanderKam. Partially Based on Earlier Transcriptions by Jozef T. Milik and John Strugnell*; DJD XXII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

(41) Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 53, n. 1.

(42) Józef T. Milik, "Turfan and Qumran. Livre des Géants juif et manichéen," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*, ed. Gert Jeremias,

public the presence of two additional Aramaic texts from Qumran, one dedicated to Qahat, the son of Levi, and the other to Amram, Levi's grandson. (43) In his opinion, these two Aramaic texts, considered to be part of testamentary literature, (44) together with the Aramaic Testament of Levi made part of Aramaic sacerdotal tradition about the fathers of the priestly tribe that, especially in the case of the Testament of Levi, predated the foundation of Qumran community. These three patriarchal texts were later translated into Greek and were known in the early Christian period under the Greek title of τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν.

The edition of the Aramaic fragments of the Levi composition from Qumran cave 4 was assigned to the lot of manuscripts to be published by Milik, as confirmed by a note in the 1956 article on the editorial work on 4Q manuscripts. (45) In the course of the 1970s, the great Qumran scholar in his indefatigable work on the apocryphal patriarchal literature was able to prepare a whole monograph dedicated to the Aramaic Testament of Levi that contained not only the Qumran scrolls, but all the Aramaic, Greek, and Syriac sources known from earlier discoveries. (46) He announced the completion of his work during the 27th *Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense* dedicated to the Dead Sea scrolls that took place in

Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–27; idem, “Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumran,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 333–78; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*.

(43) Józef T. Milik, “4Q Visions de ‘Amram et une citation d’Origène,” *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97. For the critical edition of the Testament of Qahat (4Q542) and Testament, or rather Visions, of Amram (4Q543–4Q549), see Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4—XXII: Textes araméens. Première partie: 4Q529–549*; DJD XXXI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 257–82 and 283–405, respectively.

(44) Whether the Levi composition, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram belong to the testamentary literary genre is debatable, see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 85–96; idem, “The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the Admonitions (Testament) of Qahat,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar; STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–73; idem, “The Initial Narrative of the *Visions of Amram* and Its Literary Characteristics,” *RevQ* 24 (2010): 517–54.

(45) Józef T. Milik, “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 53 (1956): 60–62, at 60: “Mon lot de 4Q se répartit sur 100 et quelques sous-verres et contient les restes de 75 manuscrits environ [...] Pour le *Testament de Levi* en araméen, voir *RB*. LXII, 1955, pp. 398–406.” As recorded by John Strugnell, the contents of the plates were chosen by the individual editors, while the cumulative records of Milik’s lot are found in PAM 43.175–286, 293–340, 374–414, 441–461; see John Strugnell, “On the History of the Photographing of the Discoveries in the Judean Desert for the International Group of Editors,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert: Companion Volume*, ed. Emanuel Tov, with the Collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 123–34, at 123. These numbers include the plates with the Levi composition.

(46) See § 1 in this study.

Leuven in 1976. In his article published in the colloquium proceedings, in which he discusses the pre-Essene documents from Qumran, he notes that the original Aramaic text of the Testament (or Visions) of Levi is mostly known and open to further scrutiny. Before summarizing the available manuscripts of the Levi composition, he adds *en passant* in a note that he is about to finish the first volume of the *Books of the Patriarchs* that was going to be exclusively dedicated to the Testament of Levi. (47) Thus, the note informs not only of the monograph that entered the final stage of redaction, but also about Milik's project of preparing a series of studies dedicated, one has to assume, to the Testament of Qahat, Visions of Amram and perhaps to other patriarchal texts from Qumran cave 4 scrollery.

Yet, by the time Milik retired from his post at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique in Paris in 1987, the publication of the monograph did not materialize. In the second part of the 1980s, the first team of the editors of the Qumran scrolls was exposed to attacks from different quarters for a supposedly slow speed in editing the Dead Sea scrolls. (48) This changed the atmosphere around the scrolls for the worse. In a controversy about his view on Judaism published in a Haaretz interview, (49) John Strugnell was forced to resign from the post of the general editor of the Dead Sea scrolls and the members of the international team of editors nominated É. Puech as his successor. Some time after the nomination, the administration of the Rockefeller Museum elected E. Tov as the editor-in-chief of the Qumran manuscripts who accepted the offer to stand at the helm of the whole project. (50) Milik turned down the proposal by Emanuel Tov to collaborate with the new team of scholars, to the great detriment of the quality

(47) Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," 95, n. 9: "Je suis en train d'achever le premier volume des *Livres des Patriarches*, qui sera consacré exclusivement au *Testament de Lévi*." Milik's archives contain a handwritten plan of a book where he intended to publish and study several patriarchal compositions from Qumran. Although very ambitious in its planned structure, the project was never brought to completion.

(48) For the response to these accusations, see John Strugnell, "The Original Team of Editors," in *On Scrolls, Artefacts and Intellectual Property*, ed. Timothy H. Lim, Hector L. MacQueen, and Calum M. Carmichael; JSPSup 38 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 178–92.

(49) The article published on November 9, 1990 by Haaretz, a Tel Aviv newspaper, contained an interview by Avi Katzman with John Strugnell at the offices of the École Biblique on October 29, 1990. John was not only dismissed from being the editor-in-chief of the scrolls, but also forced to take an early retirement on medical grounds at Harvard Divinity School that upheld a less formal collaboration with him.

(50) For a balanced account of the controversies concerning the pace of publication of the Dead Sea scrolls and the first team of the Qumran scrolls publishers, see James C. VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance*

of the future publications of the manuscripts, the manuscripts of the Levi composition included. (51) In the rearrangement of the editorial team, the Aramaic fragments of the Levi composition from Qumran were assigned to Michael Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, two professors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. (52) The first assessment of their publication of the Qumran manuscripts previously dealt with by Milik was presented earlier in this study (§ 2). Now an overview of their contribution to the understanding and publication of the Qumran manuscripts of the Levi composition have to be shortly studied.

4. The DJD XXII publication

In their first article on the Aramaic fragments of the Levi composition from Qumran, Stone and Greenfield republished the Aramaic text of Levi's prayer made first known by Milik in 1955. They first stated that they had been charged with the final edition of the prayer in the *Discovery of the Judaean Desert* series. (53) Then, they announced that a new edition of the Cairo Genizah manuscripts was ready some time ago, but not published because of the lack of access to the Aramaic fragments from Qumran. Now as they have been entrusted with the publication of the Qumran manuscripts, the completion of the study of the Cairo Genizah text should result in a new monograph published

for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity (San Francisco: Harper-San Francisco, 2002), esp. Chapter 18 entitled "Scroll Wars," pp. 381–403.

(51) Emanuel Tov, "The Dead Sea Scrolls. How They Changed My Life," *BAR* 33, no. 3 (2007): 44–46, at 46. Tov claims that Milik's unwillingness to cooperate resulted from his reticence to work on a limited number of texts. The situation was evidently more complex than that for Milik was well aware of the often most uncivilised way (conspiracy theories included) the first team of Qumran scholars, the most experienced in the publication of the scrolls and most acquainted with the Dead Sea manuscripts, was presented in the media outlets.

(52) Stone is a specialist in the field of Second Temple Judaism and Armenian apocrypha, the Armenian version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs included. J. C. Greenfield was a Semitic languages scholar who specialized in Aramaic. They both collaborated supplementing each other's expertise in the study of the Aramaic texts of the Levi composition from the Cairo Genizah, see, e.g., Greenfield and Stone, "Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi"; idem, "The Aramaic and Greek Fragments of a Levi Document: Appendix III," in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*, ed. H. W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge; SVTP 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 457–69. Émile Puech, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen de la Geniza du Caire," *RevQ* 20 (2002): 511–56, prepared a new edition of the Cairo Genizah codex, offering new readings and correcting at times those proposed by Greenfield and Stone (cf. p. 512, n. 5). He also expressed some doubts as to the quality of Stone and Greenfield's DJD XXII edition of the Qumran fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, see *ibid.*, 512, n. 6.

(53) Stone and Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," 248.

in the near future in the series *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*. (54) They also announced the publication of a series of articles on the Aramaic fragments of the Levi composition from Qumran before all evidence appears in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series. (55)

In 1996, the twenty second volume of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* was published. As announced in earlier publications, Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield were responsible for the first section containing the edition of the Aramaic fragments of the Aramaic Levi Document as they used to call the whole Levi composition. (56) The fragments inherited from Milik's lot were divided into six

(54) A separate publication and study of the Cairo Genizah manuscripts materialized much later, after the death of Greenfield. The composite text, translation and rather elementary commentary of all the manuscripts of the Levi composition, including the Qumran evidence, appeared in the series announced in the article, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*; SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004). A doctoral student of M. Stone, Esther Eshel took an active part in bringing the publication to a happy end, see *ibid.*, ix, Preface. For the review of the volume, see Henryk Drawnel, review of *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, by Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *RB* 113 (2006): 127–31.

(55) All this information has been provided at the end of the article dedicated to Levi's prayer, see Stone and Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," 266. This was the first in the series of five articles that contained the material republished with minor changes in DJD XXII. The second appeared in 1994, three years before DJD XXII, the next two—in the same year, and the last one—in 1997, after the death of Greenfield. Cf. *idem*, "The First Manuscript of Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran" (1994); *idem*, "The Second Manuscript of Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran," (1996); *idem*, "The Third and Fourth Manuscripts of Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran (4QLevi^c aram and 4QLevi^d aram)," *Le Muséon* 109 (1996): 245–59; Michael E. Stone and †Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Fifth and Sixth Manuscripts of Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran (4QLevi^e aram and 4QLevi^f aram)," *Le Muséon* 110 (1997): 271–92.

(56) Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document." In the same year Robert Kugler, a doctoral student of James C. VanderKam, published his dissertation, defended in May 1994, in which he gave his transcription of 4Q213 and 4Q214 that included all the unpublished Qumran fragments of the Levi composition; see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*. His was not a critical edition but the Qumran texts supplemented his reconstruction of the text of the "Aramaic Levi" on the basis of all available text witnesses in order to study its textual form in comparison with Jubilees 30–32 and the Greek Testament of Levi. When writing his dissertation, Kugler visited Milik in his Paris apartment in 1992, apparently to consult him on the matters concerning the paleography of the fragments. In the same year Beyer republished several fragments of 4Q213 and 4Q214 made available in a controversial manner in 1991 and 1992 by three American scholars; cf. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Geniza, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten. Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 71–77. The second volume of his monumental edition contained the same fragments published in 1994 with some corrections of the paleographic readings;

manuscripts (4Q213; 4Q213a; 4Q213b; 4Q214; 4Q214a; 4Q214b), a division that contrasted Milik's earlier distinction between 4Q213 and 4Q214. (57) The reasons that led to the division of 4Q213 into four manuscripts (4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214) are explicated in a rather limited manner. The editors claim that 4Q213b is different than all other Qumran fragments of the Levi document and the color and type of the leather are different than in all other manuscripts. (58) Paleographic differences between 4Q213 on the one hand and 4Q213a–4Q213b on the other are not discussed. (59)

It is not clear why 4Q214 (DJD XXII) that originally belonged together with other 4Q213 fragments has been assigned the same siglum as 4Q214a and 4Q214b. (60) Perhaps the decision was based on the existing overlapping between 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 7–8 (vv. 25–26) and 4Q214

cf. K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten. Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 104–10. The imposition of his own sigla and verse numbers as well as the lack of distinction between different Qumran manuscripts and fragments make Beyer's edition rather difficult to use.

(57) Noting Milik's earlier division into two manuscripts, Stephen A. Reed, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers: Revised and Edited by Marilyn J. Lundberg, with the collaboration of Michael B. Phelps*; SBLRBS 32 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1994), 82–83, separates the Levi composition manuscripts into five groups: 4Q213 (TLevi^a ar; PAM 43.241), 4Q213a (TLevi^b ar; PAM 43.242), 4Q213b (TLevi^c ar; PAM 43.243), 4Q214 (TLevi^d ar; PAM 43.260) and 4Q214 (TLevi^e ar; PAM 43.260). It notes that 4Q213, 4Q213a and 4Q213b earlier belonged to TLevi^a ar, while 4Q214—to TLevi^b ar. Except for TLevi^e ar, he indicates the editors as Stone and Greenfield, hence such a distribution of manuscript evidence must originally have come from the two scholars. In his 1993 list, Reed still classifies the manuscripts into two groups: TLevi^a ar (4Q213) = PAM 43.241, 43.242, 43.243; TLevi^b ar (4Q214) = PAM 43.260; see idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert: Inventory List of Photographs*, ed. Marilyn J. Lundberg (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 77. The division into two manuscripts corresponds to Milik's earlier opinion formulated in his 1966 article, see note 19 in this study. No reference was made to additional two manuscripts mentioned in Milik's 1978 article. While comparing Reed's notes with DJD XXII it results that Stone and Greenfield divided TLevi^a ar (4Q213) into four manuscripts: 4Q213 (PAM 43.241), 4Q213a (PAM 43.242 and 43.243), 4Q213b (PAM 43.242), 4Q214 (PAM 43.243); while TLevi^b ar—into two: 4Q214a (PAM 43.260) and 4Q214b (PAM 43.260).

(58) See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 37. On the same page F.M. Cross opines that the manuscript might have been written by the same hand as 4Q213a, but the two editors do not agree.

(59) 4Q213—middle of the first century BC or slightly later; 4Q213a—late Hasmonean; 4Q213b—the hand of the same Hasmonean type (as 4Q213a? HD); see *ibid.*, 3, 27, 37.

(60) The editors do not explain their decision, while Cross's paleographic judgment links 4Q214 with 4Q213a and 4Q213b, see *ibid.*, 44.

frg. 2 1–3 (vv. 25–26) for a paleographic homogeneity with 4Q214a and 4Q214b is rather excluded. Finally, the decision to split Milik's 4Q214 into two manuscripts was apparently based on the overlapping of 4Q214a frg. 1 1–3 (v. 25) with 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5–7 (v. 25). (61) The overlapping in these three cases is more of the reconstructed verses than of the actually preserved text that in all these cases is quite fragmentary.

What is badly missing in the DJD XXII edition is a paleographic discussion analysing the different hand of each manuscript. (62). When dating the manuscripts, a judgment that in the case of lack of chronological information within an ancient text must rely on paleography, (63) the two editors contacted F. M. Cross who usually in oral communications expressed his opinion. (64) In some cases, they referred to the

(61) See *ibid.*, 54, and 46, 55. Except for the overlapping, the script of the two manuscripts is identical, with the exclusion of the form of the *mem* and final *nun*, see *ibid.*, 54. Knowing that within the same hand there are different variant forms, the editors' argument for a different script in the two manuscripts does not hold.

(62) A few years after the publication of the DJD XXII, Matthew Morgenstern, review of *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, by Robert A. Kugler, *JSS* 44 (1999): 135–37, at 136, affirms that "On the basis of the close study of the script, the Stone-Greenfield edition attributes them (Levi composition's manuscripts [HDJ]) to six separate manuscripts." The study that certainly must have taken place is not reflected in the DJD XXII paleographic notes.

(63) Greenfield was a Semitic philologist by training, not a paleographer. When dealing with ancient artefacts, he was usually assisted by other scholars, see Yigael Yadin and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions," in *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, ed. Naphtali Lewis; *Judean Desert Studies* 2 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society—the Hebrew University of Jerusalem—the Shrine of the Book, 1989), 135–49. On p. 135 of that volume Greenfield (Y. Yadin already died) acknowledges the help of Joseph Naveh and Ada Yardeni in their expertise in reading the Aramaic and Nabatean signatures and subscriptions. In his later work on the publication of the Naḥal Ḥever documents, Greenfield continued to be assisted by Ada Yardeni, see Baruch A. Levine, "The Contribution of Jonas Greenfield to the Study of Dead Sea Literature," *DSD* 3 (1996): 2–9, at 6–7. His article written jointly with M. Stone on the Cairo Genizah fragments of the Levi composition contains paleographic improvements on the earlier editions of the text, see Greenfield and Stone, "Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi," 229–30. Note, however, that the Cairo Genizah manuscripts were already edited when the two scholars dealt with them and their script is medieval. For the complete list of Greenfield's publications, see Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin, and Michael Sokoloff, eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), xiii–xxvii.

(64) See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 27 and n. 5 (on the paleography of 4Q213a, in an oral communication, May 1992): "F. M. Cross characterised the script as late Hasmonaean..."; p. 37 (on the date of 4Q213): "In a private conversation F. M. Cross opined that this manuscript might have been written by the same hand as 4QLevi^b ar."; p. 44 (paleography of 4Q214): "F. M. Cross, in private conversation, remarked that the script of these fragments resembles that of 4QLevi^b ar";

tables with Qumran paleographic hands discerned and typologically described in Cross's article, (65) but without their further analysis of the letters, separately for each manuscript of the Levi's composition. As a consequence, the two editors point to similarities between manuscripts rather than to differences, a most unusual procedure that makes the reader wonder about paleographic reasons for the division of the manuscripts into six copies. (66)

Most 4Q fragments of the Levi composition overlap with the Cairo Genizah manuscripts (67) or the Mt. Athos Greek version, yet Greenfield and Stone use these two text witnesses rather sparingly. In their first interpretive approach to the Aramaic Levi prayer, Greenfield and Stone make recourse to ms. Koutloumous 39 and set it in comparison with the Aramaic text with philological and comparative notes on the text. (68) In the DJD XXII reconstruction of the prayer (4Q213a frgs. 1–2), they only cite the composite English translation of the text reconstructed with the help of the Greek manuscript. (69) No comments on the Aramaic text follow. The use of the Bodleian and Cambridge fragments of the Aramaic codex in the reconstruction is applied (70) but notes on the reconstructed text and comments on the variant readings are rather scarce. (71)

p. 54 and n. 3 (paleography of 4Q214a): ("Private communication of F. M. Cross") "... script may be characterized as late Hasmonaean or early Herodian."

(65) Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright and William Foxwell Albright (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 170–264. See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 3 (4Q213), 27 (4Q213a), 37 (4Q213b), 54 (4Q214a), (4Q214b) 62.

(66) Idem, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 3, 4Q213: the middle of the first century BC or slightly later; p. 27, 4Q213a: late Hasmonaean; p. 37, 4Q213b: Cross's oral opinion: the same hand as 4Q213a (opinion rejected by the editors, but their generic label "Hasmonaean" and reference to Cross's article ["Jewish Scripts," 176, nos. 3–4] seems to point in the direction of Cross's opinion); p. 44, 4Q214: the script resembles that of 4Q213a; p. 54, 4Q214a: the script is very like that of 4Q214b, late Hasmonaean; p. 62, 4Q214b: "the script is Hasmonaean, close to those illustrated by Cross in 'Jewish Scripts,' 176, lines 2 and 3."

(67) The fragments that do *not* overlap with the Cairo Genizah codex are as follows: 4Q213 frg. 2 (but it belongs together with frg. 1 ii to the Wisdom poem after vv. 83–98); frg. 3–4 (cf. T. Levi 14); frg. 5; 4Q213a frgs. 1–4; frg. 5 i–ii; frg. 6; 4Q214 frgs. 3–5.

(68) Stone and Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," 258–66.

(69) Idem, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 31–33.

(70) See 4Q213 frg. 1 i–ii; 4Q213b; 4Q214a frgs. 1; 2–3 i; frgs. 2–3 ii; 4Q214b frgs. 2–6.

(71) In the case of 4Q213b (Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 41) comments on reconstruction are reduced to only one note. The reconstruction of 4Q214a frg. 1 (p. 56) and frg. 2–3 i (p. 58) is not followed by comments; in the case

A sudden death of Greenfield on 13 March 1995 before the completion of the project left Stone without an expert in Semitic languages in furthering the uneasy endeavor of the Aramaic manuscripts publication. (72) The two scholars studied together all the fragments once, starting with the translation of 4Q213b but later on Stone took the sole responsibility for the rest of the work, being assisted in the completion of the project by Matthew Morgenstern, at the time a MA student at the Hebrew University. (73) The latter prepared the comments in 4Q213b and orthography and grammar sections in 4Q214a and 4Q214b. (74)

5. Qumran fragments in Milik's unpublished monograph

Although Milik's unpublished monograph contains an unusual wealth of information on all the manuscripts of the Levi composition, its publication was not brought to completion during his life (75) and

of the latter fragments, the editors do not reconstruct the first two lines that correspond to Camb. c, 13–14 (v. 69) claiming that the Genizah text is corrupt with dittographies (p. 57). Note that the Cambridge column does not contain dittography, but it conforms to the applied literary pattern of the birth account of Levi's children, see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 303, 310. The editors claim that 4Q214a frg. 2–3 ii (that overlaps with ms. Camb. f, 21–23 [v. 95], 4Q213 frg. 1 ii 1–3 and 4Q214b frg. 8) between ll. 3 and 4 preserves the text shorter than 4Q213 frg. 1 ii 1–3 and 4Q214b frg. 8, see Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 60, 70. The editors' reconstruction with arbitrarily imposed lines is only partially true for the fragment in ll. 1–3 has preserved the text longer than 4Q213 frg. 1 ii 1–3, 4Q214a frg. 2–3 ii 3–4 and 6 are not attested in other fragments, while 4Q214b frg. 8 does not overlap with 4Q214a frg. 2–3 ii but with 4Q213 frg. 1 ii 4, 6, see Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 200.

(72) See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 37, n. 1. The date of the death of Prof. Greenfield given for 20 March 1995 in Stone and Greenfield, "The Fifth and Sixth Manuscripts of Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran," 271, note *, seems to be erroneous. In that note Michael Stone ascribes the scholarly responsibility for the article that contains the edition of 4Q214a and 4Q214b to himself.

(73) See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 37, n. 1. He prepared the electronic version of the alphabet used in 4Q213, see *ibid.*, 26, n. 4.

(74) *Ibid.*, 37, n. 1, 54, 62–63. Morgenstern's notes concentrate rather on grammar than on orthography.

(75) A handwritten note in Milik's revised version of the typed monograph bears the date 1984, hence it must be assumed that at that time the text was ready for retyping and for the publication. From later testimonies there results that the author lost interest in its publication and in Qumran manuscripts in general. É. Puech in a private conversation (10.01.2020) informed me that in the 1990s Weston F. Fields approached him with a proposal to contact Milik with an offer to digitize the manuscript and to publish it under Milik's supervision. The proposal was turned down by Milik. After the latter's death, F. García Martínez took some interest in the manuscript of the monograph but did not proceed any further with its publication (email communication).

also after his death. (76) Recently, Mrs Jolanta Załuska, Milik's wife transferred legal rights for all of her husband's unpublished works to the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, and, in consequence, the redactional work on the publication of the monograph could begin. (77)

The first part of the monograph contains the edition of all the manuscripts of the Levi composition beginning with Qumran evidence. It bears the title "Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Levi et la description codicologique des manuscrits qui les contenaient." (78) In the second part of the monograph the text ordered and reconstructed on the basis of all the evidence is presented with a French translation, apparatus criticus and comments. The following short discussion is limited to the 4Q manuscripts as understood and presented by Milik in his monograph. (79)

It turns out that the fragments divided into six manuscripts by Greenfield and Stone are in Milik's opinion to be understood as composed of two scrolls only, 4QLeviaram^a and 4QLeviaram^b. The first is dated

(76) With the permission of Jolanta Załuska, Milik's wife, Zdzisław Kapera took hold of the manuscript and passed it on to Ursula Schattner-Rieser for further study, see Zdzisław Jan Kapera, "Preliminary Information about Józef T. Milik's Unpublished Manuscript of 'the Testament of Levi'," *PJBR* 6, no. 2 (2007): 109–12. See also Józef T. Milik (†), "Traduction continue du Testament de Levi," *QChr* 15 (2007): 5–24; Ursula Schattner-Rieser, "J. T. Milik's Monograph on the Testament of Levi and the Reconstructed Aramaic Text of the Prayer of Levi and the Vision of Levi's Ascent to Heaven from Qumran Cave 4 and 1," *QChr* 15 (2007): 139–55; idem, "Remarques préliminaires sur le Testament de Lévi, monographie inachevée de J.T. Milik et quelques restitutions du Document araméen supposé original (4Q213A frag. 1–2)," *PJBR* 6/2 (2007): 113–21; idem, "Levi in the Third Sky: On the 'Ascent To Heaven' Legends within Their Near Eastern Context and J.T. Milik's Unpublished Version of the Aramaic Levi Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold; VTSup 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 801–19.

(77) Mrs Załuska signed the documents in Paris in November 2018. The new initiative for working with the manuscript came from Dr Z. Kapera who contacted the author of this study in September 2018. He passed on to Drawnel the scans of the typed and handwritten manuscripts and the original files, part of which still resides in Milik's archive in Paris.

(78) Józef T. Milik, "Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Levi et la description codicologique des manuscrits qui les contenaient," 1–94, with photographs for the plates at the end of the section. This is only one part of the whole manuscript.

(79) Milik also republishes 1QLeviaram (1Q21), making substantial reconstructions, often with the use of other small fragments like 1Q63 4, see Barthélemy and Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, 148. He opines about the script that it is written in a beautiful Herodian hand. Puech, "Notes sur le 'Testament de Lévi'," 310, interprets the scribal hand as stemming from the end of the Hasmonean or beginning of the Herodian period, a date that essentially concurs with that of Milik's.

to the pre-Hasmonean period, around 175–150 BC, while the second to the beginning of the Hasmonean period, around 150–125 BC. That strongly diverges from Stone and Greenfield's dates that point to the first century BC in most cases. (80) It raises the necessity of further paleographic study of the manuscripts together with the comparison of the paleographic description of the scripts provided by Stone and Greenfield with paleographic analyses left by Milik. (81)

The additional two Qumran manuscripts included in the text of the Testament, 4QLeviaram^c and 4QLeviaram^d, are composed of one fragment each. (82) The hand in the first is ancient Hasmonean, perhaps pre-Hasmonean, around 175 BC; the second is recent Hasmonean from around 75–50 BC. The two fragments were published by Émile Puech as 4Q540 frg. 1, (83) an unidentified Apocryphon of Levi, and 4Q548 1 i–ii + 2, a part of the Visions of Amram. (84) The editor's annotations indicated possible connections of the two texts with the Levi composition. Milik places these two manuscripts at the end of his reconstructed form of the Aramaic Testament of Levi in the section that speaks about the eschatological future of Levitical priesthood.

The division of the 4Q manuscripts by Milik is based on his parallel reconstruction of the order of all the preserved manuscripts of the

(80) See § 4 and n. 64.

(81) See Milik, "Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Levi," 2–4 and 17–19. Note that in the case of Milik's monograph we are dealing with a text written and, in most part, checked by the author, as witnessed by his additional notes. A need for additional paleographic discussion is, however, self-evident.

(82) To these two fragments Milik must have referred in his 1978 publication, see note 35 in this study.

(83) Published together with two other minute fragments by Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4—XXII* (DJD XXXI), 217–23. The editor interprets the manuscript as part of a Levi apocryphon, together with 4Q541. He dates the manuscript to around 100 BC or even to the end of the second c. BC. Milik's dating the script as ancient Hasmonean hand, perhaps pre-Hasmonean, around 175 BC, seems to be unusually high in comparison with Puech's opinion. The latter mentions a possible thematic liaison with "le Testament de Lévi araméen (1Q21 1 et 3, voir 4Q213 2 12–13)" and with the Greek Testament of Levi 17:8–10(?). In this respect, his intuition concords with that of Milik.

(84) Published as the penultimate manuscript of the Visions of Amram by *ibid.*, 391–98. Puech declares the hand of the manuscript as being late Hasmonean or ancient Herodian. In this case his dating falls not far from that of Milik's opinion about recent Hasmonean hand, around 75–50 BC. Frg. 3 published in DJD XXXI (p. 398) is not found in Milik's edition. Puech, *ibid.*, 391–92 hesitates as to the identification of the whole manuscript as part of the Visions of Amram, recalling Milik's statement during the Leuven 1976 conference about five Qumran manuscripts of Levi, two of them composed of one fragment, see Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," 95 and n. 9.

Levi composition. (85) Since he considers the Greek Testament of Levi to be an abbreviated form of the Aramaic Testament, he cites in his reconstructed text some parts of the former, noting, however, the difference of sources. What is of considerable interest is that he interprets 4Q213 as one manuscript where Greenfield and Stone had four: 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214. He also treats 4Q214 as one manuscript while the DJD XXII editors split the fragments into two: 4Q214a and 4Q214b. Table 4 shows Milik's division of 4Q213–4Q214 ordered with the help of the Cairo Genizah fragments. (86)

Table 4. 4Q manuscripts of the Levi composition according to J. T. Milik versus DJD XXII and DJD XXXI

Milik's manuscript	DJD XXII and DJD XXXI
4QLeviaram ^a (4QAL ^a) (87)	DJD XXII
4QAL ^a 1 I 7–20	4Q213a 1
4QAL ^a 1 II	4Q213a 2
4QAL ^a 2	4Q213a 6 (not identified)
4QAL ^a 3	4Q214 4 (not identified)
4QAL ^a 4 I	4Q214 3 (not identified)
4QAL ^a 4 II	4Q214 3 (not identified)
4QAL ^a 5 I	4Q213a 5 i
4QAL ^a 5 II	4Q213a 5 ii + 4Q213a 3–4 i
4QAL ^a 5 III	4Q213a 3–4 ii (not transcribed)
4QAL ^a 6	4Q213b
4QAL ^a 7 II. 5–13	4Q214 1
4QAL ^a 7 II. 11–20	4Q214 2
4QAL ^a 8 I	4Q213 1 i
4QAL ^a 8 II	4Q213 1 ii + 2 (88)
4QAL ^a 8 III	4Q213 3 + 4 + 5
4QAL ^a 8 III 16–21	4Q214 5 (not identified)
4QAL ^a 8 IV	4Q213 6 (not identified)

(85) With the exclusion of 4Q540 and 4Q548, the same way of proceeding was adopted in later attempts to reconstruct the order of fragments and manuscripts by Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest*; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, and Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*.

(86) In stark difference with Stone and Greenfield's publication, Milik proposed a place within his reconstructed text of the Testament for *all* the fragments of his 4Q213 and 4Q214.

(87) Milik, "Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Levi," 2–16.

(88) Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 17, n. 33, "This alignment (frg. 2 on the left-hand side of frg. 1 ii, [HD]) may have lain behind Milik's placement of the fragments on the plate."

4QLeviaram ^b (4QAL ^b) (89)	DJD XXII
4QAL ^b 1 I 7	4Q214a 1 i 2 (90)
4QAL ^b 1 II 2–4	4Q214b 1 1–3 (not identified)
4QAL ^b 1 II 1–6	4Q214b 5–6 i 1–6
4QAL ^b 1 II 2–4	4Q214b 4 1–3
4QAL ^b 1 II 2–9	4Q214b 2–3 1–8
4QAL ^b 1 II 6–8	4Q214a 1 ii 1–3
4QAL ^b 1 III 3–5	4Q214b 5–6 ii 3–5
4QAL ^b 1 IV	4Q214a 2–3 i
4QAL ^b 1 V 1–7	4Q214a 2–3 ii 1–7
4QAL ^b 1 V 3–5	4Q214b 8 1–3
4QLeviaram ^c (4QAL ^c) (91)	DJD XXXI
4QAL ^c 1	4Q540 1
4QLeviaram ^d (4QAL ^d) (92)	DJD XXXI
4QAL ^d 1 I	4Q548 1 i
4QAL ^d 1 II	4Q548 1 ii–2

Although the paleographic analysis and manuscript division of Stone and Greenfield are not without their problems, the details of Milik's interpretation accompanied by a paleographic analysis and description of the fragments have to be subjected, in a separate study, to a closer scrutiny as well. The comparison is complicated by the shortcomings of the Stone and Greenfield's edition where there are no clearly spelled out principles of paleographic judgment in the division of the manuscripts. Yet, the division of Milik's 4Q214 into 4Q214a and 4Q214b in DJD XXII was made on the basis not of paleographic differences but the overlapping of 4Q214a 1 and 4Q214b 2–3 5. (93) This principle now can be checked against Milik's work on these same scrolls.

Milik interprets 4Q214 (DJD XXII) together with other fragments of his first manuscript, 4Q213, while there does not exist for him any

(89) Milik, "Édition diplomatique des fragments et des extraits du Testament de Levi," 17–20.

(90) Ibid., 19. Milik reads traces of one letter on the outer margin of 4QAL^b 1 (4Q214a 1), which means that the fragment preserves traces of two columns. Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 54, do not discern there anything and consider the fragment to preserve one column only.

(91) Ibid., 21–22.

(92) Ibid., 23–24.

(93) See Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 55, variants to l. 1 and reconstruction at the bottom of the same page; p. 64, variants to l. 5.

division in 4Q214, his second manuscript, into 4Q214a and 4Q214b (DJD XXII). The overlapping of 4Q214a frg. 1 1–3 (v. 25) with 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5–7 (v. 25) proposed by Stone and Greenfield as the main criterion of division into two manuscripts is non-existent in Milik's reconstruction. The eminent paleographer reads 4Q214a frg. 1 1–3 (DJD XXII) and 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5–7 (DJD XXII) (v. 25) as parts of the same column in 4QAL^b 1 II 6–8. From his reconstruction there results that the same lines of the same fragments do not overlap but complement each other in supplementing the missing text. In the second part of the monograph where Milik comments on the Aramaic text, the combined reading of 4Q214a frg. 1 1–3 and 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5–7 as 4QAL^b II 6–8 does not change. (94)

The actual overlapping in Stone and Greenfield's reconstruction occurs between 4Q214a frg. 1 1 (אֱלֹהִים) and 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5 (אֱלֹהִים אֱנֹךְ דִּי). (95) This line corresponds in Milik's disposition to 4QAL^b 1 II 6 where the two fragments stand at a distance one from the other and do not overlap. There are two reasons for such a disposition, one textual and the other one paleographic. In reconstructing this line Milik notes that 4QAL^b II 6 (4Q214b 2–3 5) and Ms. Koutlounous 39 (ins. T. Levi 18:2, v. 25a) preserve a longer text than the Cairo Geniza ms. Bodl. c 19: (96)

אמר לי די חזין	Bodl. c, l. 19 (v. 25a)
אמר לי די [אֱלֹהִים אֱנֹךְ דִּי חזין]	4QAL ^b II 6 (4Q214b 2–3 5)
ὁτι ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ	Koutlounous 39 (97)
σε ἀναφέρειν	

(94) Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi: Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire," 120.

(95) Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 54 and 64 respectively. The two scholars also claim (p. 55) that the same words of 4Q214a (supposedly referring to ll. 1–2 where some words are preserved) recur in 4Q214b 2–3 5–6. While the overlapping of 4Q214a 1 1 with 4Q214b 2–3 5 is based on an erroneous understanding of paleographic evidence (see the explanation in the lines that follow), it is certain that line 2 in 4Q214a does not overlap with the text preserved in line 6 of 4Q214b 2–3, see the reconstruction of the latter in Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 188 (ll. 7–8).

(96) Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi: Édition des textes, traduction et commentaire," 120, note n–n. The omission in Bodl. c is due to a homoeoarteton: דִּי < ... דִּי. The participle חזין is not rendered by Ms. Koutlounous 39.

(97) See Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 126, n. jj. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 78, read the Genizah text that overlaps with 4Q214a 1 1 and 4Q214b 2–3 5 (אֱלֹהִים), in accordance with DJD XXII reading; they note neither the omission in the Bodleian column nor the expansion in 4Q214b 2–3 5.

The ensuing reconstruction gives an Aramaic line of 52 letters (98) with 4Q214a frg. 1 1 preserving the beginning of the line, 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5 constituting its central part and 4Q214b 5–6 i 6—the third and last part. No overlapping occurs.

ד[ק]תא אלן א[נן די אמר ל'די] אלן אנן די ח[זין לאסקא מנהן] לתחות עלתא

ἀσφάλαθον ταῦτα εἶρηκεν ὅτι ταῦτα
ἐστὶν ᾧ σε ἀναφέρειν

In addition to the observation concerning the textual problem, at the end of the line in 4Q214b frgs. 2–3 5 Milik reads a *het* while Stone and Greenfield mark the ink traces there with a circlet, that is they do not identify the letter. (99) Yet the vertical right leg of the *het* with its pointed tip in ח[זין] (4Q214b 2–3 5) is legible, and additionally confirmed by the Genizah reading.

Thus, Milik's reconstruction of 4QAL^b II 6 explains why he did not see the necessity to separate 4Q214 into two different manuscripts, the remaining two lines of 4Q214a (ll. 2 and 3) not overlapping with 4Q214b 2–3 6–7. The most important criterion, however, was his paleographic judgment that did not see any difference in the hand applied in the manuscript. Stone and Greenfield's subdivision of 4Q214 into 4Q214a and 4Q214b based on the supposed overlapping of 4Q214a frg. 1 1 and 4Q214b 2–3 5 turns out to be incorrect. In their overall interpretation of the Qumran manuscripts of the Levi composition, they did not make any substantial recourse in their reconstructions and comparative discussions to the Greek ms. Koutloumous 39, a text witness to the Aramaic Testament of Levi. As to the case of the overlapping of the two discussed fragments, on PAM 43.260 (100) 4Q214a 1–3 is placed at a short distance on the right side of 4Q214b 2–3 5–7, a suggestion left by Milik to future editors that went unnoticed.

Conclusion

The overview of the available data on the history of the publication and understanding of the 4Q fragments of the Aramaic Testament of

(98) The line is not excessively long, cf. for example l. 2 with 50 letters in the reconstructed by Drawnel (*An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 188) 4Q214b frg. 2–3, frg. 4 and frg. 5–6 i. He also notes (p. 189) that line 6 (Milik's 4QAL^b II 6) is shorter than usual.

(99) Stone and Greenfield, "A. Aramaic Levi Document," 64.

(100) The photograph PAM 43.260 can be conveniently consulted at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284706>.

Levi shows that until 1993 there was a rather scanty flow of information concerning this interesting piece of Levitical priestly literature, unusual in its linking of apocalyptic revelations, visits to the heavenly realm and sapiential instruction. The publication of Milik's monograph on the Aramaic Testament of Levi will bring more information, both textual and interpretive, gathered by the Polish scholar in his quest for the understanding of its form and meaning. As it has been argued in this research, his approach was rather different from that of the DJD XXII editors, and his inquisitive and imaginative thinking brought many readily available details into a comprehensive whole. The publication of his text, long overdue, will certainly provide a good occasion for further research on, and perhaps a new edition of, the manuscripts of Levi's autobiography in which the priestly patriarch leaves his children/students his spiritual testament, "Teach scribal craft, instruction, wisdom to your children and let wisdom be with you for eternal glory" (ms. Camb. e, 17–19 [v. 88]).

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4Q150 (4QMEZ B) AND 8Q4 (8QMEZ) REVISITED

Abstract

This study revisits two texts classified as mezuzot, 4Q150 (4QMez B) and 8Q4 (8QMez). For 4QMez B, it offers a first attempt to decipher imprints of letters visible in between the lines. These appear to belong to the lost section of this text containing Deut 5:32-6:4. For 8QMez, this contribution suggests a first transcription and placement of several fragments which were not available to its first editor, but are now present on the recent images of 8Q4.

1. INTRODUCTION

THIS contribution revisits two Dead Sea Scrolls classified as mezuzot. (1) The first one, 4Q150 (4QMez B), was edited by Józef T. Milik in DJD 6. (2) It preserves some of the text of

* We are grateful to Dr. Pinna Shor, Ms. Orit Rosengarten, Ms. Beatriz Riestra, and Ms. Yael Barschak of the IAA for providing us with the new images of 4Q150 and 8Q4. Our thanks are also due to Mr. Zachary Poppen for improving the language and style of this article.

(1) Rabbinic texts prescribe Deut 6:4-9; 11:13-21 for mezuzot and Exod 13:1-16; Deut 6:4-9; 11:13-21 for tefillin. However, mezuzot and tefillin from Qumran often include larger chunks of text from Exodus (12:43-13:16) and Deuteronomy (5:1-6:9; 10:12-11:21). On mezuzot (which are commonly discussed alongside tefillin) from the Judean Desert, see Yehudah B. Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World*, Brown Judaic Studies (Providence: Brown University, 2008), 55-102; David Nakman, "Tefillin and Mezuzot at Qumran," in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World*, ed. Menahem Kister; Between Bible and Mishnah (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2009), 143-55 (Hebrew); Stephen Alan Reed, "Phylacteries and Mezuzot," in *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Daniel Gurtner and Loren T. Stuckenbruck (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 2:593-94.

(2) DJD 6:81 and plate XXVI.

Deut 6:5-6; 10:14-16, 18, 20, 22; 11:1-2, as well as numerous undeciphered imprints of letters. The second mezuzah, 8Q4 (8QMez), edited by Maurice Baillet in DJD 3, contains a running text of Deut 10:12-11:21. (3) The new images of 8Q4 produced for the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (henceforth: LLDSSDL) feature several fragments that were not available to Baillet. This study, assisted by several computerized tools, offers a first attempt to decipher the imprints of letters in 4Q150 and the new fragments of 8Q4.

2. 4Q150 (4QMEZ B)

The single fragment 4Q150 is 23 mm high and 18 mm wide (at max). It contains eight lines of text. (4) Milik estimates the average height of the letters at 1.5 mm. The new images indicate the following height ranges: 1.0-1.8 mm for non-final letters, 2.1-2.3 mm for *lameds*, and 1.9-2.6 mm for final letters (and *qoph*). The distance between the lines fluctuates between 2.5 and 3 mm. The scribe left only few short intervals between the words. (5) Milik suggests that the right edge of the fragment represents the original edge of the piece of parchment utilized by the scribe. If correct, the incomplete words in lines 1, 3, 5, and 7 reflect a scribal practice attested to in Qumran tefillin in which the words can be split in transition between the lines. The crease running through line 5 indicates that the fragment was folded horizontally. The vertical crease/crack suggests a vertical folding. Milik describes the hand of 4Q151 as “‘hérodien’ évolué” and dates it to the middle of the 1st century CE.

4Q150 contains multiple upside-down mirror-image imprints of letters (fig. 1). Since this fragment was folded, these are likely to be the imprints of a preceding text that was folded over. To facilitate their reading, the imprinted lines are designated here by letters A-H (fig. 2).

As can be seen on figs. 1 and 2, the imprinted lines are not parallel to the actual lines of 4Q150. Perhaps, the text was folded at a slight angle, as shown on fig. 3.

(3) DJD 3 (Textes): 158-61 and 3 (Planches): plate XXXIV.

(4) Milik assumes that there was at least one more line at the top of the fragment and counts the lines as if this line was indeed present on the fragment. In other words, the actual line 4 is line 5 in the DJD transcription.

(5) In the following transcription and reconstruction we have introduced additional intervals between the words to assist the readers.

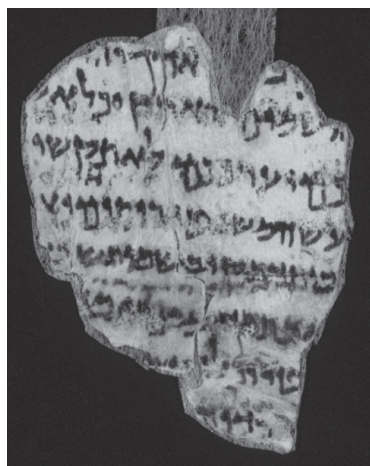


Fig. 1. 4Q150
(B-359804; photograph:
Shai Halevi) (6)

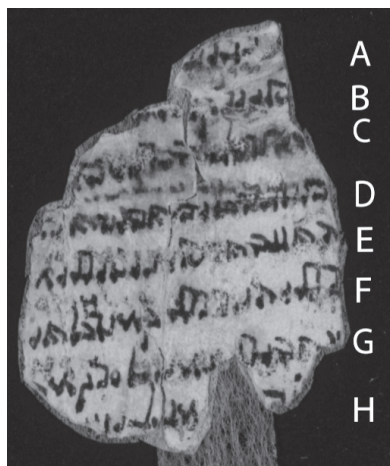


Fig. 2. A vertically flipped image of
the fragment (based on B-359804;
photograph: Shai Halevi)

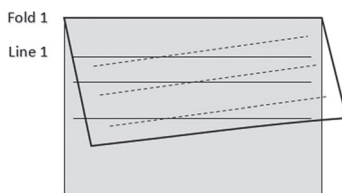


Fig. 3

The transcription offered below indicates that line H contains Deut 6:4, while the first line of 4Q150 features Deut 6:5-6. Hence it is likely that the upper-folding line ran right above line 1 as shown on fig. 3. If correct, the distance between this folding line and the crease running through line 5 is ~13 mm. While there is no way to determine how many such horizontal folds were in the fully-folded scroll, it provides some indication of the width of the folded text.

(6) All the images included in this article are courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). B-359804 can be accessed at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q150-1?locale=en_US.

As was already mentioned, Milik suggests that the right edge of the fragment is original. One could assume that this is also true for the imprinted lines. In other words, it is possible that the extant lines D-F preserve the beginning of these lines. Given the aforementioned lack of alignment between the actual and the imprinted texts, one must also allow for a possibility that lines D-F could have potentially accommodated another letter prior to the first letters visible in those lines. Still, even if this were the case, these lines would open with an incomplete word. This in turn may indicate that Milik's suggestion does not apply to lines D-F.

2.1 Lines A-H: A Transcription

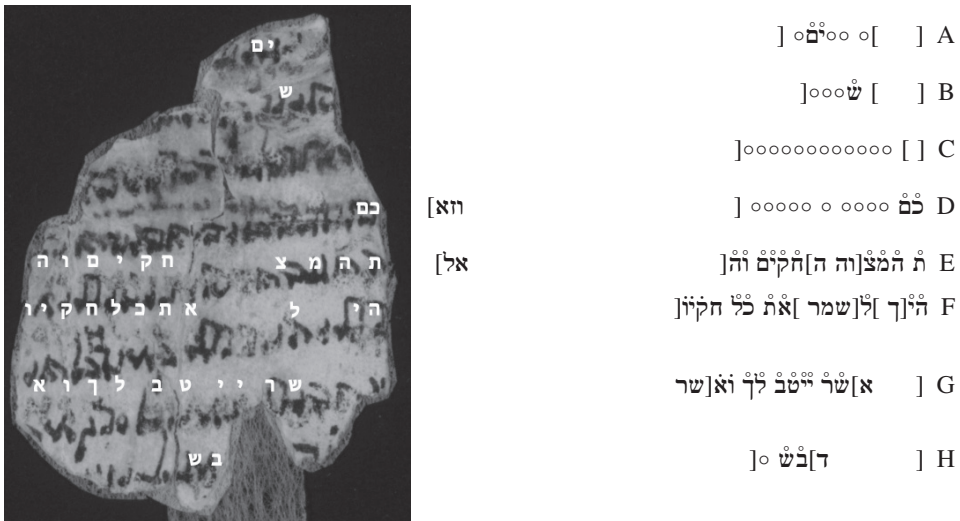


Fig. 4. Based on B-359804
(photograph: Shai Halevi)

2.2 Notes on Readings

The following Notes on Readings utilize a brightened image B-359804, an image used in the foregoing figs. 1-2, 4. Several of the snippets offered below come from a further manipulated version of the same photograph. Using MATLAB software (MathWorks Inc., version R2019b), we were able to digitally enhance the gray traces which appear to be imprints of letters and thus (hopefully) better substantiate some of the proposed readings. (7)

Line A

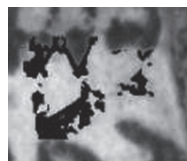
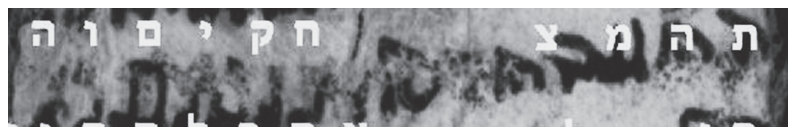
] ם״וּוּ ם[. Traces of four or five letters are extant on the fragment. Of the first letter, a trace of a base stroke is visible. The second letter (perhaps another base stroke?) is difficult to decipher. It is even unclear whether this is a stand-alone letter or whether it needs to be read with the following *vav/yod*-like trace. The next two letters appear to be consistent with a *vav/yod* and a final *mem* (or a medial *kaph* followed by another letter). There is a trace of another illegible letter next to the *mem*.

*Line B*

] ם״וּוּ ם[. A letter *shin* is followed by several illegible traces.

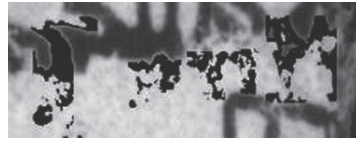
*Line D*

ם״וּ. The traces as visible on the MATLAB-enhanced image might be consistent with a medial *kaph* and a final *mem*. Alternatively, instead of a *mem*, one could read here another medial *kaph* followed by another letter (a *vav/yod*?).

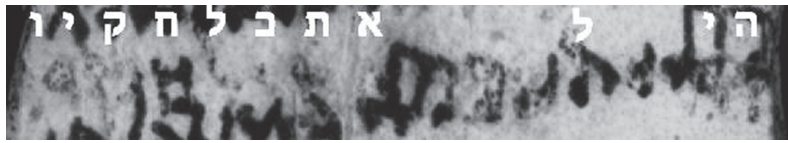
*Line E*

(7) In essence, a gray-scale image is a two-dimensional matrix of pixels. Since the imprints are not uniform—some are darker while some are lighter—we partitioned the image into multiple smaller images, or submatrices. Working with each individual submatrix of pixels in this manner, we were able to account for the coloration discrepancy across the imprint regions. The resulting segments had three distinct features: the background, the extant text, and the imprints. Since some of the imprints overlapped with the extant text, a bi-level thresholding could not extract only the imprints. Thus, we had to employ a multilevel thresholding technique. To do this, we created a range of color values that attempted to capture the imprints, while leaving the extant text (and its overlap with the imprints) and background untouched. Having captured these pixels, we set their color to the darkest black to increase the visibility of the imprints, without altering the colors of the background and the extant text.

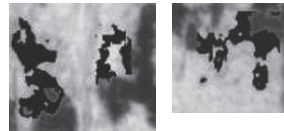
תֹּה הֶמֶצְ[וה] הַקִּים וְהֹ. Traces matching a *tav*, a *he*, a medial *mem*, and a curving vertical stroke of a medial *tsade* are visible on the MATLAB-enhanced image on the right. *Khet*, upper part of *qoph*, *yod*, final *mem*, *vav*, and *he* are visible on a brightened image offered above. There might be a trace of a roof of a *he* before *khet*.



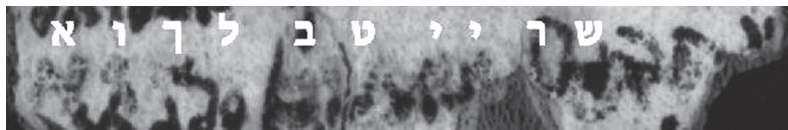
Line F



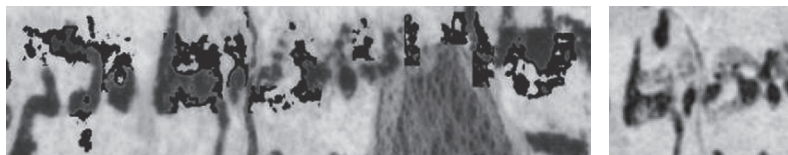
הִי[ןך] ל[שמר] אֶת כָּל הַקִּיּוֹן. A left leg of a *he* followed by a curving vertical stroke, probably a *yod*, are visible on the MATLAB-enhanced image on the right. To the left of these, there is a vertical stroke; its position suggests a mast of a *lamed*. More to the left there are faint traces of an oblique stroke and a left leg of an *aleph*, as shown on the second MATLAB-enhanced image provided here. The rest of the letters, *tav*, medial *kaph*, *lamed*, *khet*, *qoph*, *yod*, and *vav* are relatively well preserved.



Line G



אֶ[שֶׁר יִיטֵב לְךָ וְאֶשֶׁר]. The lower part of a *shin* followed by a vertical stroke with a roof, as in *resh*, traces of two *yods*, a *tet*, a *bet*, a *lamed*, and a final *kaph* are visible on the MATLAB-enhanced image below. A *tet* and a *bet* are rather visible on the old photograph PAM 42.448.



The last two letters, *vav* and *aleph*, are clear on the brightened image above. With the help of the MATLAB, the entire sequence of the imprinted letters can be separated (admittedly, somewhat imperfectly) from the extant text as follows:



Line H

]◦ בִּשְׁ[ד. The left tips of a roof and a base stroke may belong to a *bet*. Next to it there seems to be a narrow *shin*. Its arms are visible on the image. After a gap in the leather there is a top of a vertical stroke descending from left to right. In the reconstruction offered below it is read as a left arm of another *shin*.



2.3 Reconstructing 4Q150

The extant wording of lines E-G points to Deut 6:1-4. In his introduction to the *editio princeps* of 4Q150, Milik notes several variant readings attested to in this fragment. (8) The newly-deciphered line E yields yet another variant reading:

Line E (Deut 6:2) חֲקִיתִי חֲקִיתִי Sam] חֲקִיתִי 8QPhyl, XQPhyl 2, MT (9)

A schematic reconstruction of the missing text of 4Q150 with the MT may offer a further glimpse into its wording of Deut 5:32-6:6; 10:14-11:2: (10)

(8) Milik does not include in his list of variants the reading בִּי (Deut 10:19) in line 5. The MT, Sam, LXX, 4QPhyl K, 4QMez C, 8QPhyl, and 8QMez read here וְבִי. Apparently, he conjectured, in line with his overall assumption that the right edge of the fragment is original, that the word בִּי was split between two lines.

(9) While several other DSS fragments (4QDeut¹, 4QPhyl A, B, H, J, M) contain some of the wording of Deut 6:2, none of them preserves it in full. One might also mention here DSS 108 (MS5214/1), of unknown provenance, which also preserves some of this verse. See further Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*; LSTS 71 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 173-75.

[את ^{5:32}	C
כֹּמֶן] לא תסרו ימין ושמאל ^{5:33} בכל הדרך אשר צוה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם תלכו למען תחיון וטוב לכם והארכתם ימים בארץ אשר תרשון ^{6:1} [וזא]	D
תִּהְיֶה הַמִּצְוָה הַזֹּאת מִשְׁפָּטִים וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְלִמּוּד אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ ^{6:2} לְמַעַן תִּירָא אֶת יְהוָה אֵל]	E
הִיָּךְ] לְ[שֹׁמֵר] אֲתָּה כָּל חֻקֶּיךָ וּמִצְוֹתֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵצוּךְ אֹתָהּ וּבִנְךָ וּבִתְּךָ כָּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ וּלְמַעַן יֵאָרְכְּ יָמֶיךָ ^{6:3} וְשִׁמְעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשִׁמְרַת לַעֲשׂוֹת]	F
[וְתֵאֵרָא] שֶׁרִיטָתָךְ וְאֲשֶׁר תִּרְבֹּן מֵאֵד כֹּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֶיךָ לְךָ אֶרֶץ]	G
[זִבְתָּ חֶלֶב וְדָבַשׁ ^{6:4} מֵעַיִן יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד ^{6:5} וְאַהֲבַת אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל לִבְּךָ וּבְכָל נֶפֶשׁ]	H
1 [שָׁךְ] וּבְ[כָל] מֵאֵד ^{6:6} וְהָיוּ הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵצוּךְ הַיּוֹם עַל לִבְּךָ ^{10:14} הֵן לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ]	1
2 הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֶרֶץ וְכָל אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶן ^{10:15} רַק בְּאַבְתִּיךָ חֶשֶׁק יְהוָה לְאַהֲבָה אוֹתָם וּיְבַחֵר בּוֹרְעָם אַחֲרֵיהֶם בְּכֶם מִכָּל הָעַמִּים כִּי־זֶה ^{10:16} וּמִלֵּתָם אֶת עֶרְלַת לִבְּךָ]	2
3 כֶּם וְעִרְפְּכֶם לֹא תִקְשׁוּ [עוֹד ^{10:17} כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֲדַנִּי הָאֲדָנִים הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵשָׁא פָנָיו וְלֹא יִקָּח שַׁחַד]	3
4 ^{10:18} עֲשֵׂה מִשְׁפָּט גֵּר יְתוֹם וְאִלְמָנָה וְאַהֲבָה גֵּר לִתְּ לוֹ לֶחֶם וּשְׁמֵלָה ^{10:19} וְאַהֲבַתָּם אֶת הַגֵּר כִּי גֵרִים הֵייתֶם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם ^{10:20} אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִירָא אֹתוֹ תַעֲבֹד וְ]	4
5 בּוֹ תִדְּבֹק וּבְשִׁמּוֹ תִשְׁבַּע ^{10:21} הוּא תִהְלֹךְ וְהוּא אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר עֲשֵׂה אֹתְךָ אֶת הַגְּדֹלָתָ וְאֶת הַנּוֹרָאָה הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר רָאוּ עֵינֶיךָ ^{10:22} בְּשִׁבְעִים נֶפֶשׁ יִרְדּוּ]	5
6 אֲבֹתֶיךָ מִצְרִימָה [וַעֲתָה שְׁמֶךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כְּכֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לִרְבִּי ^{11:1} וְאַהֲבַתָּם אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְשִׁמְרַת מִשְׁמֶרֶת וְחֻקֵּי וּמִשְׁלֵי]	6
7 [פִּי] טִיֹּב כָּל הַיָּמִים ^{11:2} וְיִידַעְתֶּם הַיּוֹם כִּי לֹא אֶת בְּנֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּ וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא רָאוּ אֶת מוֹסֵר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֶת גְּדֻלָּתוֹ]	7
8 [אֲ]ת יְדוֹ הַחֻזְקָה וּזְרֻעוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה ^{11:3} וְאֶת אֲתִתּוֹ וְאֶת מַעֲשָׂיו אֲשֶׁר עֲשֵׂה בְּתוֹךְ מִצְרַיִם לְפָרְעוֹ מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם וְלִכָּל אֶרֶץ]	8

The reconstructed lines G, H, and 1 containing Deut 6:3-6 and 10:14 are noticeably shorter (48, 64, and 56 letters) than the preceding

(10) Several manuscripts of Deuteronomy from Qumran contain Deuteronomy 5, 6, 10, and 11. Most of them are fragmentary. One exception is tefillin XQPhyl 1-4 published by Yigael Yadin. It yields a complete text of most of the verses found in 4Q150 (XQPhyl 2: Deut 5:22-33; 6:1-3; 6:4-9; XQPhyl 1: Deut 10:12-19). This text, as well as the complete text found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, could have been used here for reconstructing 4Q150. However, since this reconstruction is mainly interested in the general layout of the text and since these verses in XQPhyl 1-2, Sam, and MT are quantitatively very close, we have followed here the convenient MT. For XQPhyl 1-4, see Yigael Yadin, "Tefillin (Phylacteries) from Qumran (XQPhyl 1-4)," *Eretz-Israel* 9 (1969): 60-85 (Hebrew); idem, *Tefillin from Qumran: XQPhyl 1-4* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1969).

lines D-F (90, 86, and 87 letters) and the following lines 2-4 (89, 90, and 91 letters). Several suggestions can be ventured to explain this anomaly. First, some of the pieces of leather on which tefillin and (presumably) mezuzot were inscribed are of irregular shape. Second, at least two tefillin from Qumran, 4QPhyl J (4Q137) and 8QPhyl (8Q3), exhibit special layouts for the Shema (Deut 6:4-5 in 8QPhyl) and preceding verses (Deut 5:24-32; 6:2-3 in 4QPhyl J). (11) Third, several Qumran tefillin (4QPhyl A, B, J) yield a shorter text of Deut 5:32-6:1. These have been explained as a scribal error, an intentional abbreviation, and a faithful representation of a shorter text of Deuteronomy. (12) A shorter wording of Deut 5:32-33 seems also to be found in mezuzah 4QMez C (4Q151), while tefillin 4QPhyl H (4Q135) and 8QPhyl (8Q3) exhibit a shorter text of Deut 6:2. Due to the paucity of legible text in lines D-F it is unclear whether 4Q150 followed any of the patterns of omissions attested to in these tefillin and mezuzah. Still, in light of this evidence a possibility of 4Q150 having some kind of shorter text of Deut 5:32b-6:3a and hence shorter lines D-F should not be easily discarded. (13) If lines D-F were indeed shorter, one could assume that the scribe used a piece of leather that was narrow at the top, wide in the middle, and narrow at the bottom (reconstructed lines 5-7 yield 84, 77, and 72 letters respectively).

3. 8Q4 (8QMEZ)

The second text this study revisits is 8Q4 (8QMez). Baillet reports that this single sheet of leather was discovered folded from top

(11) Maurice Baillet, DJD 3:149-57; Milik, DJD 6:64-67.

(12) On a possibility of a homoioteleuton in 4QPhyl B, see Milik, DJD 6:49. For these as instances of intentional abbreviation, see George J. Brooke, "Deuteronomy 5-6 in the Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom Paul et al.; SVT 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 57-70 (63-65). Cohn, *Tangled Up*, 77-78, 94-95, suggests that these omissions serve an apotropaic purpose. For the proposal that the shorter text of 4QPhyl A, B, J represents a different *Vorlage*, see Alexander Rofé, "Deuteronomy 5.28-6.1: Composition and Text in the Light of Deuteronomistic Style and Three Tefillin from Qumran (4Q128, 129, 137)," in idem, *Deuteronomy: Issues and Interpretation* (London: T&T Clark, 2002), 47-54.

(13) For an alternative possibility, namely that lines G-I might have followed a longer text of Deut 6:3b-6, one could consider the longer text of Deut 6:4 attested to in Papyrus Nash and LXX. However, the wording of line H does not support such a reading. On the longer text of Deut 6:4 see Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, "The Text of the Shema Yisrael in Qumran Literature and Elsewhere," in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales; JSJSup 158 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 147-77 (171-73).

to bottom. (14) To flatten it, 8Q4 was cut into long strips. Baillet observes that, as a result of this procedure, several lines of text were dislocated. Moreover, in multiple spots the top layer of the leather remained stuck to the back of scroll.

According to Baillet, the original size of the sheet was 6.5×16 cm. Measurements based on the most recent images of 8Q4 suggest somewhat lower figures: 6.3×14 cm (at max). The bottom margin is at least 5 mm, though the new images may indicate a larger margin, 15 mm, depending on the placement of a loose scrap in the bottom right corner of the sheet. The left margin is 6 mm (at max; e.g., line 13). Remains of forty-one lines of text are extant. (15) The interlinear spaces are around 3 mm. Baillet estimates the letters to be ~ 1 mm high, while the new images yield the following height ranges: 1-2 mm for non-final letters, 2.3-2.9 mm for *lameds*, and as much as 3.1 mm for the final letters (and *qoph*). Baillet observes that the scribe sometimes elongates the last letter in the line (e.g., line 13) to fill out the remaining blank space. There are intervals between the words, though they are often rather small. Overall, Baillet notes this scribe's concern with the esthetics of his work. He classifies the hand as Herodian.

In addition to the main text of 8Q4, frag. 1 reconstructed out of the aforementioned long stripes, Baillet's edition includes three fragments which he was unable to place (see Plate XXXIV). These frags. 2-4 are very small. (16) In frag. 2 he was able to read]האל[.

3.1 New Images of 8Q4

Multiple new images of 8Q4 were produced for the LLDSSDL. (17) On these images the fragments have been partially re-numbered. Baillet's frag. 1 is now labeled as frag. 2. Frags. 3 and 4 retained their original numbers. Baillet's frag. 2 appears to be missing. At the same time, the new images feature several fragments absent from the earlier images of 8Q4 and the DJD Plate XXXIV. (18) Presumably, these are the pieces

(14) DJD 3:158.

(15) Baillet reconstructs another line on the top of the first line of the text and counts the lines as if this line was indeed extant in the fragment. In other words, the actual line 4 is line 5 in the DJD transcription.

(16) Early images of 8Q4, PAM 42.357 and PAM 42.596, contain many more minute fragments associated with this scroll. It appears that Baillet was able to place the vast majority of them and that the DJD Plate XXXIV represents the final stage of his work.

(17) https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/8Q4-1?locale=en_US.

(18) See the overall numbering on B-497969 (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-497969>).

which Baillet reports to be stuck to the back of the largest frag. 1. These new fragments have been assigned numbers 1, 5-14. (19) Some of these are not single fragments, but rather groupings of several scraps of leather, large and small (frags. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

Of the minute fragments, the somewhat more substantial ones are transcribed here:

New **frag. 1** (B-497327; 497328): the images feature an assemblage of some nine tiny scraps. A few of them are partially legible:

Second from the top of the image:

]○○○חֲוֹלָה[

Seventh from the top of the image:

] ַחֲוֹ[

Eighth from the top of the image:

] ַחֲוֹ[

The very bottom scrap appears upside down on the images. The three or four letters extant on it are barely legible:

]חֲוֹחֲ[

Frag. 11 (B-497351; 497352):

]הע[

Frag. 14 (B-497357; B-497358):

]ותב[

Unlike the aforementioned tiny scraps, the new **frag. 5** (B-497337; 497338) features a group of several scraps, some of which are quite large. To facilitate the discussion, the scraps that we were able to decipher and place are labeled here as A-G (fig. 5).

Another new image provided by the LLDSSDL indicates how these scraps were positioned in relation to one another (fig. 6).

The wording of the three largest scraps C, F, and G makes it clear that they belong with lines 34 (C) and 37-42 (F and G) of 8Q4. This and the foregoing diagram help identify the general position of the smaller scraps A, B, D, and E (fig. 7).

(19) The image B-497341 carrying frag. 6 appears to be blank for now. See <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-497341>.

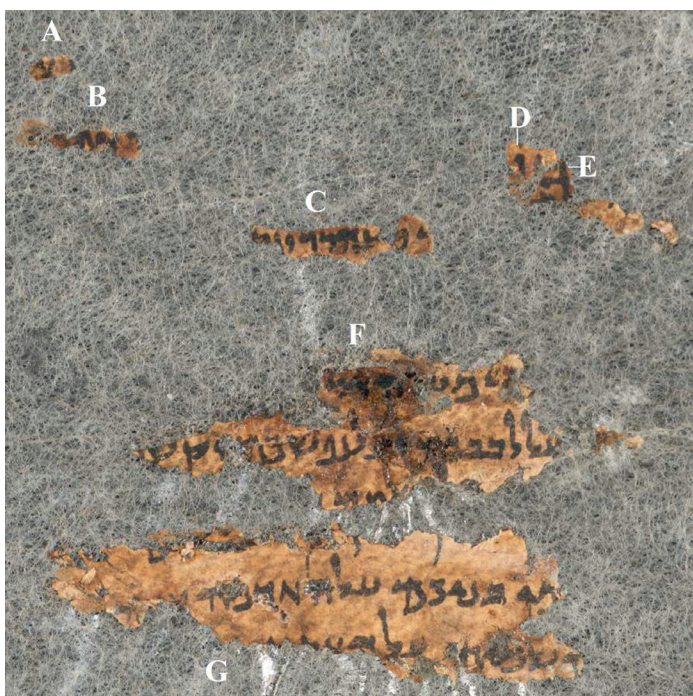


Fig. 5. Scraps A-G (based on a slightly brightened image B-497337; photograph: Shai Halevi)

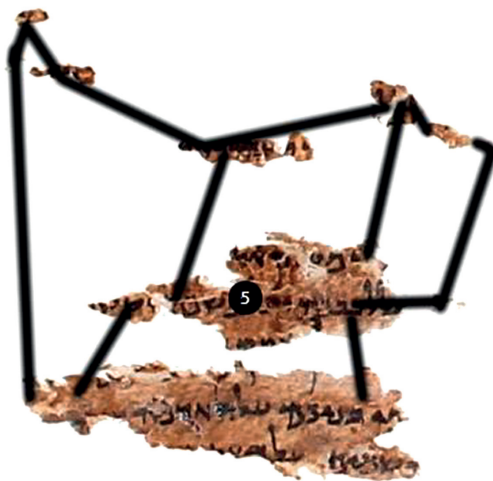


Fig. 6. The relative positions of scraps A-G (B-497969; photograph: Shai Halevi)

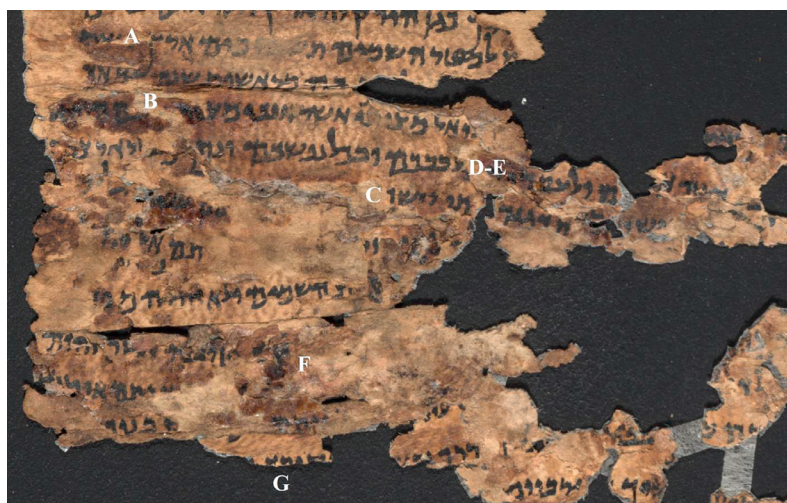


Fig. 7. The placement of the scraps A-G (based on the image B-497329; photograph: Shai Halevi)

A careful inspection of the traces visible on the scraps A, B, D, and E suggests that they are to be placed as shown on fig. 8: A in line 30 (ארץ אשר), B in line 32 (מצוה אתכם; Baillet's אתכם), D and E in line 33 (בכל לבבכם):

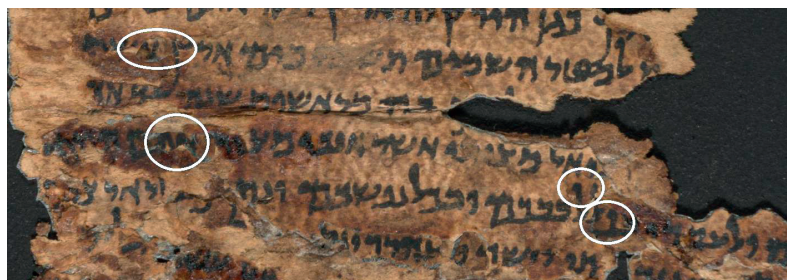


Fig. 8. The placement of A, B, D, and E (based on the images B-497329; 497337; photograph: Shai Halevi)

Once the scraps A-G are digitally placed with the help of Adobe Photoshop CC 2019, the restored text appears as follows (fig. 9):

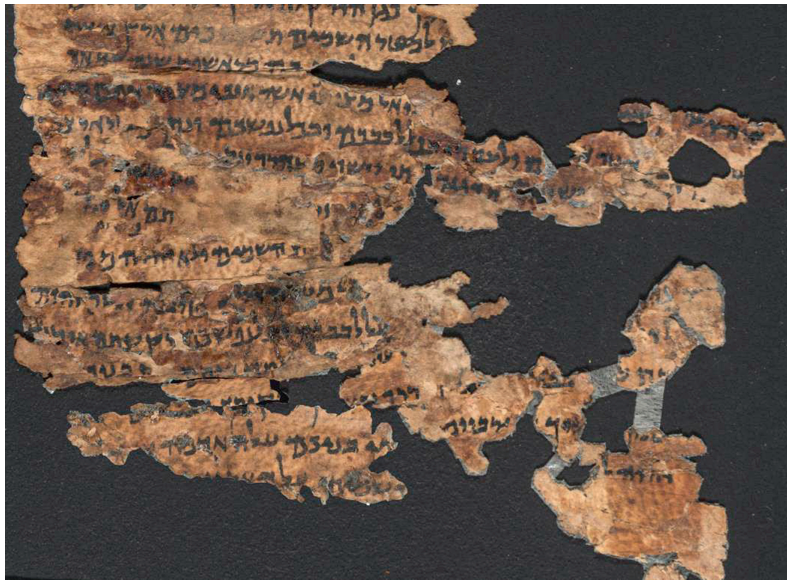


Fig. 9. Scraps A-G digitally placed on 8Q4
(based on the images B-497329; 497337; photograph: Shai Halevi)

The placement of the scraps A, B, D, and E does not alter the transcription of lines 30, 32, and 33 as proposed by Baillet. The wording of the larger scraps C, F, and G does, however, require a revision of the DJD transcription of lines 34, 37-42. Hence is the need for a more detailed discussion of their readings

3.2 A New Transcription of Lines 34, 37-42 (=Deut 11:14-15, 17-21)

- 34 [14] בעתו יור[ה] ומלקוש ואספת דגנך [ו] תירשך ויצהרך¹⁵ ונתן עשב ב[ש]דך
- 37 [17] והאדמה לא תתן את יבולה ואבדתם מ[ה]ר מעל הארץ הטובה אשר יהוה
- 38 נתן לכם¹⁸ ושמתם את דברי אלה [על לבבכם ועל נפשכם וקשרתם אותם
- 39 לאות] על ידכם והיו לטוטפות בי[ן] עיניכם¹⁹ ולמדתם אותם [א]ת בניכם לד[בר]
- 40 בם ב[שב]תך בביתך [ו] ב[ל]כתך בדרך ובש[כבך] ו[ב]קומך²⁰ וכתבת[ם] על מזוזות
- 41 בתוך ובש[עריך] ל[מען]²¹ ירבו ימי[כם] וימי בניכם על האדמה אשר נ[שבע]
- 42 יהוה לא[בתכם] לתת להם כימי [השמים על הארץ] []

3.3 Notes on Readings (20)

Line 34

וּצִהָרָךְ. Baillet reads וּצִהָרָךְ. Scrap C completes the missing letters. The *yod* absent from frag. C seems to be faintly visible on PAM 42.596. וּנָתַן. Once again, scrap C contains the missing half of Baillet's וּנָתַן. However, on the new color and infrared images the bottom half of this word appears to have slid downwards, as shown here on the image (cf. its position on PAM 42.596).

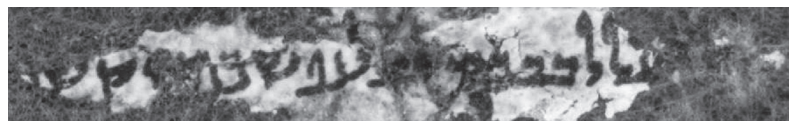


Line 37

מֵהָרָה מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ. Baillet reads מֵהָרָה מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ and restores with the MT מֵהָרָה מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ. Scrap F completes some of the missing text. However, the extant traces of the first two letters do not seem to match the wording of the MT. A roof with a serif before the medial *mem* matches a *resh*, rather than a *he*. The traces prior to it could belong to a *he*, though the reading is quite uncertain, as the leather is split into several tiny scraps.



Line 38

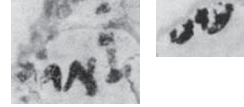


עַל לִבְכֶּם וְעַל נַפְשְׁכֶם. The DJD edition has עַל לִבְכֶּם וְעַל נַפְשְׁכֶם. The new images preserve the missing sequence of letters. The tiny scrap of leather with some traces of ink visible to the right of עַל is difficult to read and place. וּקְשָׁרְתֶּם. Baillet's וּקְשָׁרְתֶּם is now fully confirmed by the new images.

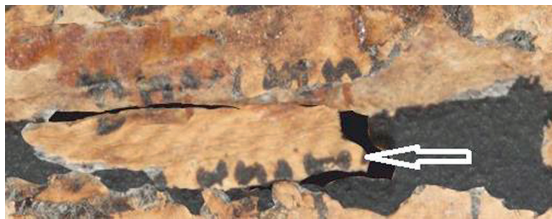
(20) Unless stated otherwise, this section of the article utilizes photographs B-497329; 497337; 497338 (photograph: Shai Halevi). In a few cases, the images are slightly brightened.

Line 39

לֹאִי]ת. Baillet reads here לֹאִי]ת. The image PAM 42.596 (photograph: Najib Anton Albina) reproduced here retains a trace of a *taw*. עֵינִי]כֶם. The DJD edition has עֵינִי]כֶם. However, no trace of a medial *kaph* is visible on the images, both old and new.



וְלִמְדָתָם אוֹתָם. Baillet reads וְלִמְדָתָם]אֵת]ם. A trace of a medial *mem* seems to be visible on the new image. Baillet's וְלִמְדָתָם] are letters found on a scrap of leather that got detached—it appears separately on PAM 42.596. On the Plate XXXIV it is placed here to support Baillet's reading. However, these very letters are now clearly seen on the new scrap F. It seems that instead of וְלִמְדָתָם] the aforementioned detached scrap may read אוֹתָם (see the image below). What Baillet reads as a *dalet* might be a top of a left leg of an *aleph* followed by a *vav*. Hence, using Adobe Photoshop we digitally moved this scrap to the left obtaining the sequence וְלִמְדָתָם אוֹתָם. The vertical stroke next to וְלִמְדָתָם is now positioned as the horn of the aforementioned *aleph*. Moreover, to match the traces of the final *mem* in וְלִמְדָתָם]אֵת]ם on scrap F, we also had to move another detached scrap placed here by Baillet slightly leftwards (see, again, PAM 42.596). This one contains the bottom part of the final *mem* and the upper traces of וְ]בְקוֹמֶךְ of the following line (see an arrow on the image below).



Line 40

וְ]כִתְבָתָם וְ]כֹתָ]בָתָם. Baillet reads וְ]כִתְבָתָם. On the new images bottom traces of two letters are visible next to the *vav*—these are probably a medial *kaph* and a *tav*. The bottom part of a final *mem* is visible as well.



Line 41

[וימי בניכם על האדמה אשר נשבע]. The DJD edition reads [וימי בניכם על האדמה אשר נשבע]. Most of the missing letters are now clearly seen on the scrap G. There appears to be a trace of a *yod* at the very beginning of the scrap and a trace of a vertical stroke of a medial *nun* next to אשר.

Line 42

[השמים על הארץ]. While Baillet reconstructs these words, the new image preserves them intact. A blank space seems to follow.

3.4. Textual Variants

In his *editio princeps* of 8Q4 Baillet offers a detailed discussion of the variant readings found in its text of Deut 10:12-11:21. (21) He concludes that “Le texte de 8Q4 retrouve souvent le Samaritan et la LXX.” (22) The newly-placed fragments yield yet another variant reading which 8Q4 shares with the Samaritan Pentateuch:

Line 37 (Deut 11:17) מהרה מ[הר 4QPhyl A, 4QPhyl C, Sam] Mur4, XHev/Se 5, MT

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

While the variant readings found in the Judean Desert texts classified as mezuzot received a good deal of scholarly attention, other aspects of these texts still await further inquiry. (23) These range

(21) DJD 3:160-61.

(22) DJD 3:158.

(23) See a recent discussion in Nathan Jastram, “Tefillin and Mezuzot,” in *The Hebrew Bible: Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets*, eds. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov; Textual History of the Bible 1B (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 105-11.

from scribal practices reflected in mezuzot, to their physical features (e.g., various patterns of folding), to the criteria for distinguishing between mezuzot, tefillin, and the so-called excerpted Exodus and Deuteronomy texts (4QExod^{d,e}; 4QDeut^{n,j,k1,q}). (24) This essay revisiting 4Q150 and 8Q4 is therefore only a small step towards a detailed study of the Judean Desert mezuzot assisted by the new images available through LLDSSDL.

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(24) Cohn, *Tangled Up*, 60-62, argues for a possibility that mezuzot from the Judean Desert are, in fact, tefillin. He also suggests that Papyrus Nash, as well as perhaps 4QExod^{d,e} and 4QDeut^{n,j,k1,q}, might have served as tefillin (ibid., 67-68).

4Q340 — LISTE DE NETÎNÎM ET LES LIVRES D'ESDRAS ET DE NÉHÉMIE ⁽¹⁾

UN petit fragment de manuscrit en hébreu, apparemment non réglé, de 4,5 × 2,9 cm avec une marge supérieure et une marge à droite, 4Q340 — *Liste de Netînîm*, a conservé le début d'une liste de *Netînîm*. (2) L'écriture de la copie à influence de la semi-cursive devrait être datée vers le milieu du 2^e s. av. J.-C. ou dans la deuxième moitié, écriture assez comparable à celle du Papyrus Nash retrouvé en Égypte et de l'ostracon n° 72 de Murabba'ât. (3) Le déchiffrement demande de ne voir dans ce petit fragment que le début des lignes dont il manque une partie plus importante à gauche et au nombre de lignes inconnu.

4Q340 1 (voir la photographie B-361875, The Leon Levy Dead-SeaScrolls Digital Library) :

(1) Cette note veut exprimer mes remerciements les plus chaleureux au Professeur Corrado Martone pour son dévouement désintéressé et une collaboration exemplaire comme secrétaire de la *Revue de Qumran* pendant de longues années.

(2) Voir M. Broshi and A. Yardeni, «340. 4QList of Netinim», in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV. Parabiblical Texts Part 2*, ed. by M. Broshi *et alii*; DJD XIX (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 81-84 et Pl. XI, mais la datation devrait remonter *ca* le milieu du 2^e s. ou la deuxième moitié, non de la première moitié du 1^{er} s. av. J.-C., date proposée par les éditeurs. Il est clair aussi que les lignes sont très incomplètes à gauche contrairement à l'*editio princeps*. L'édition est reprise par F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Volume Two 4Q274-11Q31* (Leiden - Boston - Köln: Brill, 1998), p. 708-709, et dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 6. Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts*, ed. by D.W. Parry & E. Tov (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 232-33. Cette note est comprise dans « The project funded by the Minister of Science and Higher Education within the program under the name "Regional Initiative of Excellence" in 2019-2022, project number: 028/RID/2018/19, the amount of funding: 11 742 500 PLN » (Poland).

(3) Voir F.M. Cross, «The Development of the Jewish Scripts», in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright*, ed. by G.E. Wright (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961), p. 148.

[	אלה הנתינים ¹
[	אשר כננו בש[מותיהם ²
כני(?)	יתרא ועקוב ³
כני(?)	המססרים ⁴
[	הרתוקים/ות(?) ⁵
	קים י> טוב(?) ⁶
	ל[⁷

Traduction :

- ¹Ceux-ci sont les *Netîn[îm*]
²qui ont été consignés par l[eurs] n[oms :]
³Yitra et 'Aqqub[, (les fils de?)]
⁴la clouterie/des cloutiers,[..... (les fils de?)]
⁵la fabrique des chaînes/des chaîni[stes,]
⁶*Qayamûl* / *Qayam*(?) <et>(?) *Ṭob*[yah(?), ...
⁷..]/[...

Notes de lecture :

- Ligne 2 : Le *reš* a une tête à peine marquée. Puis lire deux *nun*, non *waw-nun* de l'édition, et *bet* cursif assuré ainsi que *šin* ensuite.
- Ligne 3 : À la cassure, tracé convexe du *bet* assuré.
- Ligne 4 : Le scribe a inséré deux *mem* finaux au lieu des tracés de *mem* médian. À la cassure *waw* non croisé ou mieux *yod* (légèrement convexe comme ligne 1?), puis trace d'un long jambage, pour *mem* final préférable à *taw* au jambage droit allongé.
- Ligne 5 : Le tracé convient de préférence à *waw* croisé qu'à *yod* plus droit, voir ligne 1. Puis fin de jambage légèrement à droite, *qof* possible.
- Ligne 6 : Le tracé de la deuxième lettre convient à *waw* ou à *yod* sans exclure *reš*, voir ligne 2. Le tracé de la suite ne peut pas être pour *waw-kaf* final de l'édition ; le scribe semble avoir commencé par le tracé de *samek* (ouvert dans cette main) et avoir continué par celui de *mem*, le trait vertical rejoint le tracé coudé excluant une lecture *waw-kaf*, un *mem* final fermé au tracé légèrement différent de ceux de la ligne 4 sans l'angle droit de l'apex du *mem* final. Sous le départ du tracé horizontal, il semble bien y avoir des traces d'une lettre, *waw* ou *yod* possible, probablement ajouté (voir les photographies numérisées B-361874/5). Enfin, *šet* certain, *waw* croisé et tracé convexe de *bet*.
- Ligne 7 : Il n'est pas exclu de voir une longue hampe de *lamed* sous le *mem*, comparer le *lamed* de la ligne 1 et le grand espace entre les lignes 4 et 5 d'autant que le tracé avec solution de continuité n'est pas dans l'alignement pour une très longue hampe de *kaf*.

Commentaire :

- Lignes 1 et 2 : Ce début de colonne paraît devoir se comprendre à l'instar de la phrase d'Esd 8,20 : *wmn hntynym šntn dwydw whšrym*

l'bd̄t hlwym ntynym m'tym w'srym klm nqbw bšmw̄t « Et parmi les “donnés” que David et les chefs avaient donnés pour le service des lévites : deux cent vingt “donnés”, tous furent nommément enregistrés ». Une restauration pourrait ne pas comprendre David ni les chefs, mais le service des lévites ou du temple, et leur nombre (?) dont les noms vont suivre, à moins d'y inclure “les portiers” *hš'rym* ; cette liste précède celle des *netînm* dans les parallèles, voir *'qwb*, ligne 3, en Esd 2,42 et Ne 7,45, compté parmi “les portiers” et repris(?) en Esd 2,45 parmi les *netînm*. Le verbe *knnw* est au parfait *polal*.

– Ligne 3 : Les deux noms sont coordonnés. Un Yitra, absent des deux listes bibliques, est connu comme époux d'Abigaïl et père d'Amasa, il est décrit par erreur comme ‘israélite’ en 2 S 17,25TM mais est justement présenté comme ‘ismaélite’ en Grec et de même en 1 Ch 2,17, (*ytr* comme en 1 R 2,5). En coordination, *'Aqqub* (Esd 2,45^{TM-LXX} // Ne 7,48^{LXX} (Ακουδβ)) est déjà connu parmi les portiers en Esd 2,42 et Ne 7,45^{TM-LXX}, dans la liste qui précède celle des *netînm*.

– Ligne 4 : La lecture *hmsmrym* [“les cloutiers” paraît préférable à *hmsmrwt* [“la clouterie” pour des traces de *taw*. Le mot désigne les membres de la guilde artisanale des fabricants de clous, d'après le mot *msmr* “clou”, (la finale en *-wt* serait pour un abstrait, voir *msmrwt* en parallèle à *mqbw̄t* en Je 10,4 ; comparer Esd 2,55 *bny hsp̄rt* “la guilde de l'écriture/les scribes”) ; le mot *hmsmrym* renvoie à la formation parallèle du sobriquet *hmqbym* “les marteleurs, les Maccabées”. Avec la lecture *hmsmrwt* en particulier, restaurer probablement *bny* en fin de ligne 3 “les fils de la clouterie = les cloutiers.”

– Ligne 5 : De même, *hrtwq[ym(?)* “les chaînistes”, préférable à *hrtwq[(w)t*, “la fabrique de la chaîne” restauration possible, comme corps de métier, devraient désigner les orfèvres ou l'atelier fabriquant les chaînes, voir Is 40,19, Ez 7,23 et 1 R 6,21 (*rtyqwt zhb*, “des chaînes d'or” [devant le *deb̄r* du temple]). Il semble que l'article devant ces noms équivaut à la formule *bny-X* des listes bibliques, “les fils de la fabrique de la chaîne = les chaînistes” ; pour désigner une profession avec l'article, ou directement les artisans, comparer *hlwḥš* “l'exorciste/ celui qui chantonne (sur les possédés)” en Ne 10,25.

– Ligne 6 : La lecture du premier mot n'est pas assurée. Il semble que le copiste ait commencé par écrire *qws* ou *qrs* ayant quelque difficulté de lecture de son original. En effet, avec *qrs* on aurait en *scriptio defectiva* le nom *Qéros*, voir *qrs - Qéros* (Esd 2,44) mais *qyrs* (Ne 7,47), nom connu avant l'exil à Arad en relation avec le temple yahviste. (4) En lisant *qws*, le dieu édomite *Qôs* est connu de ces listes avec *brqws*

(4) Un *Qérosî* (*qrsy*) est attesté avant l'exil sur l'ostracon d'Arad 18, ligne 5, en rapport avec le temple de Yhwh, voir Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1981), p. 35-36.

(Esd 2,53 // Ne 7,55), nom typique iduméen. Le copiste s'est ravisé en écrivant *qymy/w*. (5) Le nom suivant est *ṭwb[* ou *ṭwb[(yh?)* - *Ṭōb[(yah?)* ; un *Ṭōbyah* malgré son nom yahviste fait partie de ceux qui n'ont pas pu prouver leur appartenance généalogique en Esd 2,60 // Ne 7,62, ce même nom paraît inclu dans cette liste *ṭwb[(yh?)*. Mais avec cette lecture, il faut noter l'absence de coordination et de séparation, voir la ligne 3, si tant est que le scribe ait été appliqué, à moins de lire plus simplement *qym <w> ṭwb[*, *Qayam <et> Ṭōb[(yah?)*, *waw* de coordination inséré comme correction ou *waw* de la fin du mot précédent non coordonné ? Lire donc soit *Qayamû/Qîmî* ou *Qayam(?) <et>(?)*, tous des noms connus. C'est le seul nom à la lecture non totalement assurée du début de liste. Mais *qwwk*, exclu pour le second *waw*, est un nom inexplicé.

– Ligne 7 : Les listes bibliques offrent plusieurs noms de *netînîm* avec *lamed* en deuxième ou troisième position.

Ces maigres restes de début de liste des *netînîm*, des “donnés” au temple au retour de l'exil, recoupent très partiellement celle d'Esdras 2,43-58 parallèle à Ne 7,46-60, mais l'état de conservation ne permet guère une comparaison plus avancée.

En général, les *netînîm* sont considérés comme les esclaves ou les desservants du temple. (6) Certains en font les descendants des Gabao-nites que Josué avait réduits en esclavage. Cependant aucune source biblique n'autorise une telle identification et ne permet d'en faire des esclaves. Mais le mot *netînîm* “donnés” qui s'applique aussi aux hommes alloués aux lévites pour les servir (*l'bdt hlwyym*) en Esd 8,20 n'en fait pas pour autant des “esclaves”, puisque les lévites eux-mêmes à leur tour servent les prêtres (Nb 8,18-19.24). 1 Ch 9,2 mentionne le retour des prêtres, des lévites et des “donnés”, et ces derniers sont parmi les signataires de la Loi de Dieu, de la nouvelle alliance (Ne 10,29) ; ils sont partie prenante du peuple fidèle. Le retour de ces groupes d'Israélites suppose leur existence avant l'exil, même si les sources n'en disent mot, leur corps de métier s'y prête clairement. Un ostracon d'Arad mentionne un Qerosî au service du temple yahviste. Les *netînîm* devaient comprendre les groupes des artisans et des desservants du temple, comme le laissent entendre les quelques précisions de 4Q340 1 3-5. D'après

(5) Le nom *qymw* est fort bien attesté en palmyrénien, nabatéen et iduméen, Qaîamû, et *qymy* l'est aussi en hébreu, voir T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I Palestine 330 BCE-200 CE*; Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 91 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), p. 407-08.

(6) Voir R. de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, Vol. I (Paris: Cerf, 1958), p. 139-40, Vol. II (1960), p. 221, 247-48.

Néhémie, ils résidaient dans un quartier de l'Ophel juste en face de la porte des Eaux (Ne 3,26). Ne 3,31-32 précise : « ³¹Après lui, Malkiyyah de la corporation des orfèvres répara jusqu'à la maison des "donnés" et des commerçants, en face de la porte de la Surveillance, jusqu'à la chambre haute de l'Angle. ³²Et entre la chambre haute de l'Angle et la porte des Brebis, réparèrent les orfèvres et les commerçants. »

Il est probable que plusieurs *netĭnĭm* sont d'origine étrangère comme en témoignerait l'onomastique. (7) Il est curieux de noter que des listes ugaritiques connaissent déjà au 13^e siècle des *bn hgb* parmi les *ytnm*, tout comme on trouve des *bny hgb* dans les listes des *netĭnĭm* (Esd 2,45-46 *bny hgbh* et *bny hgb* [ditto?], et Ne 7,48 *bny hgbh*). (8) Une jarre inscrite trouvée à Tell el-Fûl au nord de Jérusalem, datant du début du premier siècle av. J.-C., porte la mention *hnnyh br hgb*, deux noms bien attestés dans les listes d'Esd 2,43-54 et de Ne 7,46-56. (9) Les noms d'origines diverses des listes parallèles d'Esdras et de Néhémie pourraient expliquer les vérifications nécessaires des listes remaniées et plus récentes de ces guildes que celle de 4Q340 qui mentionne des corps de métiers et qui pourrait ne pas distinguer les *netĭnĭm* des portiers et d'autres fonctions, voir *'qwb* des listes bibliques (Esd 2,42 [2,45 dittographie (?)]) et Ne 7,45). Cette dernière liste des *Livres d'Esdras - Néhémie* pourrait-elle être invoquée pour une datation

(7) R. Zadok, «Notes on the Biblical and Extra-Biblical Onomasticon», *JQR* 71 (1980) 107-17, p. 115-16, étudiant les listes des *netĭnĭm* en *Esdras - Néhémie*, conclut que parmi les 45 noms des *netĭnĭm* et des esclaves de Salomon, seuls deux ont un nom yahviste et 9 ont des noms exclusivement hébreux ou cananéens, 17 ont des noms non hébreux : un égyptien, un d'origine inconnue, 4 ont des noms arabes avec des traits araméens, 7 ont des noms araméens, 17 ont des noms à la fois hébreux (de type tardif) et araméens, enfin 3 noms ne peuvent être expliqués. Il estime qu'il est raisonnable d'y voir des descendants de prisonniers de guerre.

(8) Voir B.A. Levine, «The Netĭnĭm», *JBL* 82 (1963) 207-12, p. 211. La forme *hgbh* (gravé *hgbh*) se retrouve sur un sceau de provenance inconnue *'zryw (bn) hgbh*, voir N. Avigad, «A Hebrew Seal with a Family Emblem», *IEJ* 16 (1966) 50-53.

(9) Voir E. Puech, «The Tell el-Fûl Jar Inscription and the Nĕtĭnĭm », *BASOR* 261 (1986) 69-72, mais l'appartenance de cette jarre inscrite à une famille de *netĭnĭm* ca 100 av. J.-C. a été contestée par S.J.D. Cohen, «False Prophets (4Q339), Netinim (4Q340), and Hellenism at Qumran», *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 1 (2000) 55-66, p. 59. Pour l'auteur, les *netĭnĭm* comme groupe sociologique n'ont pas survécu après l'époque perse. N'y avait-il plus de desservants, porteurs d'eau, de bois, artisans, etc., au temple jusqu'à sa destruction en 70 ? On doit au moins se poser la question, tout comme la raison d'une telle copie à Qumrān quelque deux siècles après la fin de l'époque perse. Les polémiques rabbiniques dans des formes archaïsantes concernent d'autres situations politiques après la chute du temple. Le patronyme *hgb* typique de ces listes depuis le 2^e millénaire vient-il de la voracité des sauterelles/criquets qui dévastent la nature sans nulle productivité, et en conséquence sont asservis à une tâche utile ?

plus tardive de la rédaction finale des *Livres d'Esdras - Néhémie* ? (10) 4Q340 n'est qu'une copie, vers le milieu ou dans la deuxième moitié du 2^e s. av. J.-C., d'une liste bien plus ancienne que le copiste avait quelque difficulté à déchiffrer (voir ligne 6). (11)

Cette relecture des restes qui permet de retrouver des noms et des corps de métiers attendus comme desservants du temple devrait appuyer l'existence probable de *netînîm* aux époques perses, hellénistique et romaine ancienne. Quoi qu'il en soit, il apparaît que de telles listes dépendent de modèles cananéens bien attestés (Ugarit) regroupant des desservants de temples ou de palais aux fonctions multiples, des artisans spécialisés et des servants accomplissant diverses tâches.

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(10) Le reste de cette liste ne semble pas encore comprendre les *netînîm* comme *bn nkr*, “un bâtard” exclu du temple au même titre qu’“un Ammonite, un Moabite, un étranger ou un hôte” de 4Q174 1 i 4 dans le midrash de 2 S 7, 10-11. Cela appuie une composition de la liste au plus tard dans la première partie du 2^e s. av. J.-C.

(11) Cohen, *cit.*, p. 60-66, verrait dans cette liste une copie d'un texte différent des listes connues en *Esdras - Néhémie* à l'époque hellénistique, de préférence à un complément onomastique des 220 noms annoncés dans la liste d'Esd 8,20 qui manquent dans les données bibliques, d'autant qu'on n'avait pu alors identifier de nom déjà connu.

4Q476A FRAGMENT 3

4 Q476A frags. 1 and 2 were grouped with 4Q476 frags. 1-3 on PAM 43.548, but then transferred to Plate 71 with Cave 4 unidentified fragments which was photographed on PAM 43.680 (photo July 1960), where they are numbered PAM 43.680 frags. 48 and 57. (1) On that same plate, John Strugnell placed another fragment, PAM 43.680 frag. 56, in between the two 4Q476a fragments. That fragment, which should be numbered 4Q476a frag. 3, can be joined to PAM 43.680 frag. 57 (4Q476a frag. 2). (2) One may transcribe 4Q476a frags. 2+3 as follows:

]חַבְלָ[	1
]	2
]	3
]	4

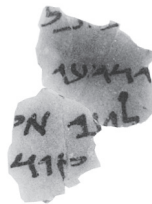


Figure 1: PAM 43.680 frags. 56 and 57 (4Q476a frags. 3 and 2) joined

In line 1, the long basestroke before *lamed* indicates *bet*. The bottom tip of the downstroke is so close to *bet* that there is no space for the

(1) Dana Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*; DJD 33 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 147. They incorrectly state that the fragments are located on Mus. Inv. 128.

(2) In the present IAA numbering these are: Plate 71, frags. 35, 39, and 47.

head of *waw* or *yod*, or for the left end of the crossbar of *he*. Possible are only *het* or *zayin*. The first basestroke could be of *bet*, *mem*, or *nun*, or of a long rounded hook of *lamed* which in this script frequently joins to the base of the next letter (see, for example, *lamed* in 4Q476 1 4 (בשלום)). One may therefore read]בָּחֶבֶל[,]לֶחֶבֶל[, or even]מִזְבֵּל[. The combination of the words on the four consecutive lines is not attested in any of the known texts.

It is not at all certain that 4Q476a frag. 1 belongs to the same manuscript as frags. 2-3. The fragments of 4Q476 and 4Q476a are written in the so-called round semiformal early Herodian hand, which is attested in many different manuscripts. As remarked by Strugnell, 4Q476a frag. 1 might well derive from the same scroll as 4Q476 frags. 1-3. (3) Materially, the bottom part of 4Q476 frag. 3 is very similar to 4Q476a frag. 1. 4Q476a frags. 2+3 might therefore be the sole remainder of a manuscript, or may have to be reassigned to another manuscript. (4)

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(3) Torleif Elgvin, “476. 4QLiturgical Work B,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*; DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 437-43, at 437 n. 1.

(4) Figure 1: Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority, photos: Najib Anton Albina. The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

WAS MIRIAM SHUT FROM HIS EYES?

The Miriam Pericope in 4Q377 (Apocryphal Pentateuch B) Reconsidered

MANUSCRIPT 4Q377 consists of one large and few tiny fragments. The large fragment preserves the last 12 lines or so from two columns on its recto (referred to as frg. 2) and the imprint of two other columns on its verso (frg. 1). The language and content of the scroll draw heavily on the Bible, specifically the Pentateuch, though the relationship between the fragmentary passages and their general literary framework (if there is any) are not clear. (1)

Much scholarly attention was drawn to the relatively detailed description of the revelation on Sinai and, particularly, the role of Moses in this event in 4Q377 2 II. Other passages of the scroll received little attention, not least due to their poor state of preservation. This study concerns one of these somewhat neglected pericopae. Though of limited scope—only three fragmentary lines—it is of some interest due to its presumed reference to Miriam, an important yet little heard of figure in the Hebrew Bible as well as in Qumran literature. The editors of the DJD edition transcribed and translated the relevant passage (4Q377 2 I, 8–10) as follows:

* I am grateful to Menahem Kister who encouraged me to investigate the intriguing composition 4Q377 and shared with me his knowledge, advice, and critique. I would also like to thank Elisha Qimron, Eibert Tigchelaar and Liora Goldman for their thoughtful comments and suggestions.

(1) Initially assigned to John Strugnell, 4Q377 was eventually published on the basis of Strugnell's drafts in DJD 28 by James VanderKam and Monica Brady, "377. 4QApocryphal Pentateuch B," in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*, ed. Douglas M. Gropp, Moshe Bernstein et al.; DJD 28 (Oxford: Clarendon press, 2001), 205–217. Ariel Feldman, "4Q377 (4QApocryphal Pentateuch B)," in *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible*, ed. Devorah Dimant; BZAW 449 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 195–224, re-edited 4Q377 and supplied it with a thorough commentary; see there for further bibliography.

8.] [איש הַחֲסִידִים וַיִּשָּׂא קוֹלוֹ] []
 9.] [וַיָּשִׁיב חֲרוֹן אָפוֹ וַתִּסְגַּן מַעֲיִנוֹ ? vac שְׁנֵי]
 10.] [עַלִּינוּ וְנִהְיֶה אֲלֵינוּ כִּיָּא]
 11.] [שְׁ] []
 8. []/[one of the pious ones and he lifted his voice
 9. [and] he returned [his] ang[er and] Miriam [shut her]self from
 his eye(s) *vacat*? years of
 10. []. against us, and lead to us because

The editors understood lines 9–10 as somehow reworking or referring to the story of Miriam’s leprosy in Numbers 12. Later editors and commentators generally accepted DJD’s reading and interpretation, sometimes with some modifications. It also served as the basis for further investigation of the figure of Miriam in early Jewish literature. (2) However, this interpretation, in particular the identification of Miriam in line 9, raises several difficulties:

1. The most serious problem pertains to the reconstruction [תסגן] מרים [תסגן] מעין. (3) The collocation “to shut (oneself) from the eye / sight of” is unattested in Hebrew usage. Moreover, it misses the significance of the verb נסגר in the context of Miriam’s leprosy (Num 12:10–15), which denotes the temporary confinement of unclean people or objects (see Lev 13). This strictly technical sense has nothing to do with the notion of being hidden or covered from the sight of the Lord or Moses. (4) Substituting the verb [תסגן] with, e.g., [תסתן] yields an acceptable Hebrew phrase but does not make the notion of “being hidden from the sight” any more relevant for the story of Miriam’s misconduct. Furthermore, without the restoration [תסגן] there is not much left to connect this passage to Numbers 12.
2. The location of the supposed reference to Miriam within the larger context of 4Q377 2 is awkward. The previous lines describe a

(2) Hanna Tervanotko, “‘The Hope of the Enemy has Perished’: The Figure of Miriam in the Qumran Library,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Armin Lange, Matthias Weigold and József Zsengellér; FRLANT 230 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 161–63; eadem, “Miriam Misbehaving? The Figure of Miriam in 4Q377,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov and Matthias Weigold; VTSupp 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1:309–23. See also Feldman, “4Q377,” 220–21.

(3) The first preserved letter is broken, but the identification of *resh* is probable. *Vav* and *yod* are not clearly distinguished and it is possible to read, e.g., [מרים מעין] (see Feldman, “4Q377,” 207).

(4) VanderKam and Brady, “4Q377,” 218; cf. Feldman, “4Q377,” 207.

military census, mentioning tribal chieftains (?) as well as “the rearguard” (המאסף, 4Q377 2 I, 6). The following column, separated by a gap of unknown length, contains an exhortation to observe the commandments of the Lord which Moses revealed. The story of Miriam’s leprosy has little to do with either of these passages. Indeed, the DJD editors describe the contents of these columns as a series of unrelated and unorganized narrative fragments. Feldman, on the other hand, suggested that “the emphatic description of Moses’ role during the Sinai revelation (in 4Q377 2 II—S.E.) may be understood in light of the reworking of Numbers 12 in the preceding column.” (5) However, the detailed description of the Sinai event is embedded in an exhortation to “keep and observe and d[o] all the com[mandments] of the Lo[r]d *through the mouth of Moses*” (4Q377 2 II, 4–5). The following elevated description of Moses (lines 10–12) underscores the authority of the law he spoke, stressing that Moses’ words are identical with the words of God. It is not Moses’ authority *per se* that this passage emphasises, and its association with the accusation against Moses in Numbers 12 is unnecessary. (6) Nevertheless, Feldman is correct in linking the emphatic description of Moses in col. ii to the pericope at the end of col. i; see below.

3. Lastly, the identification of Miriam in line 9 involves a slight orthographical inconvenience: as duly noted by the editors, the letters מרים are written with no word division. Surely, every scribe may incidentally fail to properly divide certain words. Yet the scribe of 4Q377 is careful in his writing. Rather than attributing an uncharacteristic carelessness to the ancient scribe, perhaps it is the modern reconstruction and interpretation that should be reconsidered.

The accumulative weight of these textual, contextual, and orthographical problems renders the common interpretation of 4Q377 2 I, 9–11 questionable, indeed implausible. (7) I would like to suggest a substantially different interpretation, which not only removes these difficulties but also enables a more coherent understanding of 4Q377 as a (highly fragmentary) whole.

(5) Feldman, “4Q377,” 223.

(6) It may also be noted that, according to the common interpretation, 4Q377 2 I, 8–10 makes no mention of Miriam and Aaron’s accusation against Moses. Yet one may argue that this part of the episode was referred to in some portion of the scroll now lost (say, at the beginning of col. II) or that the author took the biblical account for granted.

(7) Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2010–2014), 3:142 also rejected this interpretation without offering an alternative reconstruction.

The starting point for the new interpretation is, again, the puzzling reading in line 9 **מעיו רמרים**. Is it possible to make sense of these letters *as they stand*? I believe it is. The letter sequence **רמר** is quite rare in Hebrew. One of the few verbs that employ it is **המרמר**, a sub-form of **המר** “scorched, churned.” Now, **המרמר** is attested only three times in Biblical Hebrew, two of which in the collocation **המרמרו מעי** (Lam 1:20, 2:11) “my stomach churns,” a bodily expression of grief and pain. (8) The resemblance of this collocation to the preserved letters of 4Q377 2 I, 9 **מעיו רמרים** is striking, and the reconstruction **מעיו רמרים** “our stomachs churn” suggests itself. The only differences between the Biblical phrase are the use of a participial form (**המרמרים**) instead of perfect (**המרמרו**), (9) and the plural **מעיו** “our stomach(s)” in place of the singular **מעי**. This last change is significant, as it hints that the painful grief concerns a certain commune or people, not only the sorrows of an individual.

If the above interpretation and reconstruction is correct, then the passage beginning in 4Q377 2 I, 8–11 has nothing to do with Miriam and the incidents described in Numbers 12. I wish to present here my reading of the passage along with new translation and interpretation.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| על איש החסידים וישא קולו |] 8. |
| ישיב חרון מ[מנו חומ]רמרים מעיונ[שנו] |] 9. |
| עלינו ונהגה עלינו כיא |] 10. |
| עו |] 11. |
8. [... conc]erning the pious man and lifted his voice
 9. [...] will turn away wrath from [us.] Our stomachs [chu]rn, [...]\$nw
 10. [...] upon us, and let us bemoan for ourselves, because

Comments

L. 8. The epithet **איש החסידים** “pious man” (?) apparently refers to Moses (see Deut 33:8; 4Q377 2 II, 12; 4Q378 26, 5–6), (10) yet he is probably not the speaker: all the verbs and pronouns in the following lines are 1p pl. (נהגה, עלינו, מעיו). Someone else, whose name unfortunately is not preserved, raised his voice concerning the “pious man.”

(8) The third occurrence is Job 16:16 **מני בכי פני** (**המרמרו ק**), usually rendered “my face is red with weeping,” again a bodily sign of grief. Interestingly, the Old Greek version of Job rendered **פני המרמרה** with *ἡ γαστήρ μου συγέκασται* “my stomach burns,” probably under the influence of the similar phrases in Lam 1:20, 2:11.

(9) On this phenomenon see Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben-Zvi, 2018), 378–379.

(10) While the referent of the title **איש חסידים** (in 4Q377 2 ii 12 **איש חסידים**) seems clear, its exact translation remains somewhat vague. See further Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4: V. Miḡsat Ma‘aše Ha-Torah*; DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 91; Feldman, “4Q377,” 206, 218.

L. 9. מְשִׁיב חֲרוֹן מַן[מִנִּי]. The first word can also be read מְשִׁיב. Previous editors read חֲרוֹן אֶל[פִּי], but the broken last letter has a vertical right stroke incompatible with an *alef*. The traces fit well with *mem*, though they might also be read וִי. While the construct חֲרוֹן אֶף (הֶשֶׁב) is most common, also the shorter form חֲרוֹן (הֶשֶׁב) is attested; see Sir 46:7 [B] להֶשֶׁב חֲרוֹן מַעֲדָה.

L. 9 שָׁנֹו. The first preserved letter is badly worn out but still discernible in the new IAA images. (11) It is preceded by a narrow horizontal tear where the DJD editors restored a *vacat*. However, this *vacat* leaves the (restored) phrase “our stomachs [chu]m” in syntactical isolation. One may restore [נִפְ]שָׁנֹו “our [spir]it”, [בֹּו]שָׁנֹו “we are ashamed,” or perhaps רָאִן[שָׁנֹו] “our head.” (12)

L. 10 וְנִהְגָה עָלֵינוּ. The verb הִגָּה denotes various aspects of speech, including lamenting and moaning. (13) See, e.g., 1QH^a XIX, 24–25 “and to utter an agonized moan <and a groan...> and bitter lament”; (14) 4Q179 2, 9–10 בָּכוּ תִבְכָּה “Jeru[salem] weeps bitterly [...] because of her children [...] and she lam]ents and moans.” (15)

L. 11 אִישׁ־וְרֹאשׁ. Perhaps אִישׁ “man” or רֹאשׁ “head.”

Can these bits and pieces be reconstructed into a meaningful whole? It seems to me that the strong, painful expression חוֹמַת רָמְרִים מַעֲיִנו directs toward a lament-like context, as does the phrase נִהְגָה עָלֵינוּ. (16) If the “pious man” in line 8 is indeed the subject of the speech in lines 9–10, then these lines may represent a eulogy over Moses’ death. Following this interpretation one may restore in line 9 מִי[מִן] חֲרוֹן מַן[מִנִּי] “[who]

(11) It does not have the rectangular frame of a *bet*; the reading of Feldman, “4Q377,” 207 בָּנִי is unlikely.

(12) Eibert Tigchelaar (private communication, 30.11.2020) and Elisha Qimron (private communication, 03.12.2020) suggested the first and second restorations, respectively. The anonymous referee suggested רָאִן[שָׁנֹו]. It is not clear to me whether the faint dot at the bottom right of the tear is indeed ink.

(13) The translation “bemoan” in Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 745; similarly, Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3:142, and Devorah Dimant *apud* Feldman, “4Q377,” 207. Contrast Vanderkam and Brady, “4Q377,” 212, that explained the verb as a form of נִהַג (followed by Ariel Feldman, “The Sinai Revelation according to 4Q377 (*Apocryphal Pentateuch B*),” *DSD* 18.2 [2011]: 172).

(14) Translation follows Carol Newsome in Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen Schuller, *1QHodayot^a: with incorporation of 4QHodayot^{a-f} and 1QHodayot^b*; DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2008), 248.

(15) Text: Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:310; translation: Maurya P. Horgan, “A Lament over Jerusalem (4Q179),” *JSS* 18.2 (1973): 227.

(16) Liora Goldman suggested interpreting the phrase וַיִּשָּׂא קוֹלוֹ (line 8) in a similar manner, e.g. וַיִּשָּׂא קוֹלוֹ [וַיְבַךְ] (private communication, 19.12.2020).

The new understanding of the pericope 4Q377 2 I, 8–11 makes it possible to suggest a coherent narrative framework for the preserved passages of 4Q377. A lament or eulogy for Moses must, of course, be situated sometime after Moses' death; here, however, it comes immediately after a military census (see above). In addition, the fragmentary lines of frg. 1 I mention the promise to "give as an inheritance to my / His people" (לעמור / להנחיל לעמי, line 4), (17) probably a reference to the promise of the land described in the last preserved lines of that column: "[the land of(?) the Hi]vite, the Canaanite, the Hittite etc. ... A good and spacious [land], (with) [sp]rings and und[erground waters] welling up [in valley and hill]" (lines 8–9). (18) These three elements: the promise of the land, the military census, and the lament over Moses, can all be located at the time immediately following Moses' death, when the Israelites prepare themselves to enter and conquer the land of Canaan. Thus, the preserved sections of 4Q377 may be parts of a continuous narrative that reworks and elaborates the events concerning Israel's entry into their promised land. (19) Unfortunately, due to the paucity of preserved text the larger literary framework of the scroll remains unknown.

(17) On the difficulty to distinguish *vav* / *yod* see above n. 3.

(19) Perhaps, then, the composition in 4Q377 should be counted among the “Joshua scrolls,” a group of compositions that rework and expand various chapters from the history of Joshua, in particular events concerning the conquest of the land. For an updated edition, commentary, and analysis of the complicated interrelations of these compositions see Ariel Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*; BZAW 438 (Berlin: De Gruyter. 2014).

RECENSIONS

Vered Noam, *Shifting Images of the Hasmoneans: Second Temple Legends and Their Reception in Josephus and Rabbinic Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. xi + 262. \$88. ISBN: 978-0-19-881138-1.

Both the examination of the reception history of literature and the incorporation of memory studies to explain a variety of features of texts have contributed greatly to the study of the Bible and early Judaism, but somewhat along parallel paths. Through the lens of each framework, scholars have understood better how and why stories were read and interpreted in a variety of historical contexts (reception history), or were remembered differently, leading to variants in phrasings and distinct rhetorical employments of a particular narrative (memory studies). In *Shifting Images of the Hasmoneans*, Vered Noam provides a comparative examination of how stories about the Maccabees appear in both Josephus and rabbinic accounts, seamlessly intertwining issues of reception and memory into a methodologically rigorous exploration of how these two corpora (Josephus' writings and rabbinic literature) relate to one another through the case study of the Hasmoneans. The result is a sophisticated and profound volume, the implications of which will influence research in ancient Judaism. Even more, the methodological and theoretical rigor are bound to shed light on related fields of ancient literature, such as biblical studies, where similar questions could be asked in comparative endeavors.

Noam's thesis is that the shared stories that appear in both Josephus and rabbinical literature are not the result of the latter borrowing from the former. Indeed, contrary to many claims, the author demonstrates concretely and persuasively that the direction of influence cannot be from Josephus to the rabbis, despite the fact Josephus wrote his histories centuries prior to the rabbis. Using a variety of methods, Noam argues that, instead, Josephus and the rabbis both drew, independently, from a shared pool of Jewish anecdotes that date back to Second Temple times. These anecdotes were likely transmitted orally, though in the case of Judas' defeat of Nicanor 1 Maccabees functioned as a written source for Josephus (in Greek) and perhaps also the rabbis (in the likely original Hebrew of 1 Maccabees). Further, she provides the methodological framework for identifying how these stories can be identified in rabbinic literature.

Perhaps more significantly, Noam shows how the features of the rabbinic accounts likely reveal that their appearance in the Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud, and other sources are the older, and more original, forms of these stories than their appearance in Josephus. Where this volume breaks new ground upon which a variety of disciplines stand is the implication, which Noam states clearly throughout, that her conclusions raise about the possibility for a vast, lost trove of Jewish literature (such as Aramaic chronicles) dating from the Second Temple period, and the possibility of finding traces, if not entire passages, of that literature in the rabbinic corpus. Where other scholars, such as Menahem Kister and John Collins, have hypothesized about such lost literature based on traces in manuscripts in their own research, Noam provides concrete evidence through her comparative examination of the Hasmoneans in Josephus and rabbinic literature.

The book contains an introduction and seven chapters. In the introductory chapter, Noam describes the issues involved in the study of Josephus and the rabbinic corpus, laying out the complexities entailed in each as it relates to genre and literary features. She clearly defines her methodology and how she explores each source to arrive at the conclusion that the rabbis were not dependent on Josephus, and that the rabbinical accounts preserve older versions of the stories. The next six chapters (chapters one through six) demonstrate her theoretical framework in the detailed examination of six narratives about the Hasmoneans in Josephus and in rabbinic literature. Those narratives are: Nicanor's defeat (chapter 1); John Hyrcanus' hearing of the heavenly voice (chapter 2); the break between the Pharisees and the Hasmoneans (chapter 3); the pelting of Alexander Janneus with Citrons (chapter 4); Alexander Janneus' deathbed words to Alexandra (chapter 5); and the struggle between two Hasmonean brothers (Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II) near the end of the dynasty and the murder of Onias (chapter 6). The examination of the variant stories in each chapter is thorough, and the application of the methodological framework throughout is illuminating.

The final chapter provides a synopsis of the consequences of her study, including a more detailed reflection on the lost trove of Jewish literature during this time (such as likely Aramaic chronicles, Temple legends, and Pharisaic legends). She notes specifically in the conclusion the manner in which the rabbis can use a single Hasmonean ruler to construct a generalized assessment of that leader's generation. In doing so, Noam provides a nuanced chronology of how the four generations of the Hasmoneans feature in rabbinic literature. She concludes with a summary of the complexities of the rabbinic retellings of the Hasmoneans, a dynasty whose achievements of national independence the rabbis might have celebrated even as the militaristic means and dubious (from the rabbinic perspectives) characters involved led to the eradication of the names of the individual Hasmoneans themselves in rabbinic literature. As Noam observes, even as many rabbis bore the names that also appear in other sources for Maccabean rulers, the rabbis in effect rendered the Hasmonean victory anonymous by erasing their names.

One is hard pressed to find fault with this volume. Some might question Noam's assessment of "originality" and rabbinic stories, as though the search for the more original repository of Second Temple Hasmonean anecdotes in

rabbinic literature is more significant than the variations in Josephus (though she clearly gives Josephus his due). Indeed, one could argue that the rabbinic world (as Noam also states) is powerful to the extent that it orients previous traditions around its own sensibilities, for its own moralizing purposes, and, therefore, that asking questions about the chronological priority of its literary content relative to Josephus is beside the point. Noam is aware of this nature of the rabbinic world, as she so eloquently states at the end. Moreover, she clearly indicates that “original” for her purposes is not about getting closer to historical events or reconstructing what happened (though, as on p. 3, she occasionally emphasizes the proximity of these anecdotes to the events they describe), but rather about finding traces in Jewish texts from antiquity that attest to (and are closer chronologically to) lost sources from the Second Temple era. Whatever issues might arise with the extent to which she proves each of her points or reconstructions, the result is always thought provoking and well-researched. The project is ambitious and significant, and the execution of the argument is methodologically rigorous and well done. The book is one part of a larger project of literary parallels between Josephus and the rabbis, which has already appeared in Hebrew (*Josephus and the Rabbis* [Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2017]).

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Shem Miller, *Dead Sea Media: Orality, Textuality, and Memory in the Scrolls from the Judean Desert*. STDJ 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. xix + 321. €116/\$140. ISBN: 978-90-04-40820-3.

With the exception of Menahem Haran’s studies on writing technologies and literary developments (among a few others), David M. Carr has recently called attention to the manner in which research on the Bible and biblical traditions have often not focused on the material aspects of these texts, or, as he terms it, their “thatness” (“Rethinking the Materiality of Biblical Texts: From Source, Tradition and Redaction to a Scroll Approach,” *ZAW* 132 [2020]: 594–621, quote at 619–20). In a similar fashion, and with attention drawn to the materiality of manuscripts and book production, Eva Mroczek has, in ground breaking ways, called into question the concept of the “book” in modern scholarship on ancient texts (*The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2016]). It is with this turn towards the physical nature of manuscripts, and the manner in which these manuscripts function as physical artifacts and evidences of material religion, that Shem Miller wrote the volume under review. Specifically, he applies media studies, which examines physical aspects of religion but also how a variety of media operate and relate to one another. In this manner, Miller moves beyond written and oral divides and demonstrates how the scrolls, as written artifacts, offer windows into orality and performance.

Miller devotes significant space in the introduction for unpacking media studies as a discipline and for articulating its relevance for research on the scrolls. Indeed, many passages of the scrolls themselves record how the

Qumran community recited prayers and, as such, the scrolls contain clear traces of oral performance in the community itself. As a result, an approach that illuminates the full variety of modes in which communication can occur such as media studies (which itself uses the term “multiformity” to label such variety) provides an apt lens through which to examine the “oral-written textuality” of the scrolls.

Chapter 1 contains evidences from the scrolls of clear descriptions of performance within the community. Miller examines the array of evidences not only for understanding communal participation in performance but also to illuminate the roles of communal leaders (the *Maskil*, the Mebaqqer, the *Paqid*, and the judges and priests). Presenting this data alongside research about the growth of Rule Texts allows for Miller both to acknowledge the changing dynamics in the community meetings as evidences in the diachronic issues involved in the Rule Texts while also positing the relative continuity of oral performances and traditions over time.

The issue of oral traditions then relates to Miller’s argument in Chapter 2. Despite Lawrence Schiffman’s contention that oral traditions were not authoritative (in contrast to written traditions, which were) at Qumran, according to Miller the scrolls attest to a more complex scenario. Leveraging Foley’s four-fold media taxonomy (oral performance; voiced texts; written oral poems; voices from the past), Miller claims that two categories of oral authority were present at Qumran. First, Miller identifies oral authority in the label “hidden” or “revealed” things, which refers to laws derived from inspired and authoritative exegesis. The second, “mysteries,” were those instructions that contained esoteric knowledge handed down by an authoritative teacher.

Chapter 3 contains an examination of stichometry, or the physical layout and cues of the writing on certain scrolls. Using comparative evidence from other societies, Miller argues, contrary to Emanuel Tov and others, that the stichometry of the text relates directly to issues of performance and orality. In this fashion, the scribes responsible for the scrolls were not merely copyists, but also performers, an issue to which Miller returns in a subsequent chapter. Moreover, according to Miller such analyses and conclusions regarding stichometry and their relations to performance and liturgy also means that the oral world and modes of oral communication of these ancient scribes are not entirely beyond our reach as modern scholars.

Yet stichometry is not the only manner in which scribes used physical layouts in scrolls manuscripts. In chapter 4, Miller investigates other spacing techniques. These techniques then provide further avenues for understanding the oral-written register of the scrolls. Miller begins with assessing the layout of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15) as it appears in 4Q365 as well the Song of Moses in Deut 32 in 4Q44. Other performance codes offer insights into the oral nature of the texts, as in the *vacats* in 4QBerakot^{a, b} (4Q286-287) that demarcate performance cues in the curse against Belial. Miller argues that certain features appear that provide cues for instruction as well. Finally, he offers comments on three visual features of the scrolls that encode additional signals for performance: scribal marks such as an “X,” cryptic scripts, and special ways of marking the divine name.

Miller extends his study of the interface between the scrolls and performance in chapter 5, focusing on the role of cultural memory. After providing a brief overview of performance criticism, Miller turns his attention to the Hodayot texts, arguing that the text itself contains clues of its actual performance (against some form critical arguments otherwise). He assesses the manner in which collective identity through performance concretizes the respective roles of community members and the Maskil in performance. Through the performance, the office of the Maskil assumed a sort of fictionalized and functional identification as a founder of the sect.

Yet members of the community were not the only performers of texts. The scribes themselves, in their transmission of the literary material, bear witness to types of scribal performance and activity. This sort of activity is discussed in chapter 6, in which Miller applies the varieties of memory (long-term, episodic, and short-term, including memory multiformity and memory variants) to phenomena in the manuscripts. He then applies these insights into specific cases in the Hodayot and Community Rule texts.

The concluding chapter returns to issues of more general and theoretical natures, confirming the manner in which “the medium is the message” and, as a result, the oral-written textuality of the scrolls attest to how they were, and are, living documents.

In sum, Miller provides a well-written and fascinating volume leveraging media studies to complicate the manner in which we perceive of texts and their social functions. Each chapter begins with a story either from related areas of biblical studies (as in the discussion of Constantin von Tischendorf) or from other areas of academia and culture (as in the discussion of Bob Dylan discovering the ballads of Marybird McAllister through the recordings of Paul Worthington). Doing so relates the topics of each chapter to broader intellectual discourse and history in an engaging and effective way. Such writing demonstrates how his study entails wide and deep learning. Indeed, along with other volumes that challenge overly dichotomous thinking on orality and writing, such as Jacqueline Vayntrub’s *Beyond Orality: Biblical Poetry on its Own Terms*, *The Ancient World* (New York: Routledge, 2019), Miller’s volume is a welcome contribution for assessing how texts function in history and how they offer windows into social relations and performance.

Samuel L. BOYD

Michael Owen Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea: A Study of the Bar Kokhba Documents* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 544. \$85.00. ISBN 978-0-300-20453-7.

The present book is the result of a careful if somewhat contradictory quest to discover the literacy rate of Roman Judea. Wise argues that literacy statistics are especially important for this period so we can know what portion of ancient Jews could read the Bible. This goal assumes a popular notion—that Jews were already a “People of the Book” whose key heritage was our Hebrew Bible—that is complicated by such early Jewish evidence as the Mishnah, with its

surprisingly limited scriptural foundations. Practically, the problem is worse. Most of the Bar-Kokhba period epigraphic evidence does not directly tell us who could read even pedestrian documents like contracts, let alone archaic literary texts like the Bible. Of some 145 contracts and letters in Hebrew, Aramaic, Nabatean, and Greek that Wise surveys dating from 55–135 CE, most are written by scribes and only signed by the parties involved. This requires inferring the literacy rate of a scattered and linguistically diverse population from penmanship, how well they signed their name in a given language.

In a harshly critical methodology section Wise dismisses the approach of many scholars of ancient Mediterranean literacy such as Rosalind Thomas or William Johnson who argue that the uses of writing cannot be reduced to literacy statistics. Instead he argues that the search for solid percentages undertaken by scholars such as the disgraced William Harris are logically prior to loftier theoretical questions. He portrays the need for statistics as an inescapable force: “here as perhaps nowhere else Harris’ focus—pursuing the actual number of readers—necessarily becomes a first principle, imposing itself on the historian, willing and interested or not” (346).

The bulk of the book consists of a detailed survey of the 2nd century CE documents of the Bar Kokhba revolt to discover which Judeans would have been able to read Biblical Hebrew, based on Hellenistic documentary texts. The rewards of this survey are real: Wise provides a careful new reconstruction of exactly what was in each cave, and detailed charts of who signed what type of document.

But “the actual number of readers” eludes us: because there is little direct information on them, the ability to sign one’s name skillfully must stand proxy for biblical literacy. Similarly since most Judean men had names that worked in Hebrew or Aramaic, Wise takes a single letter—*ben* vs. *bar*—as proxy for whether they were literate in Hebrew or Aramaic (290–93). With this metric—summarized in tables (311) and discussion (347–49)—we find, for example, about 17 out of 58 of the parties to Hebrew or Aramaic documents with enough writing skill to presumably decode a complex document. From those figures (Wise offers various calculations) perhaps a third of the wealthy landowning men who signed most of the contracts preserved to us would have had the honor of “animating” Judea’s greatest cultural treasure and sharing it with others in their village. Wise reconstructs a scenario in which women and the lower classes listened admiringly as local patriarchs read out loud from so-called “deluxe edition” biblical scrolls.

The fact is that answering such “hard” statistical questions about earlier literary texts is just not one of the things these epigraphic data are well suited to do. Indeed other scholars of the Bar Kokhba materials such as Uri Mor have felt that the narrow geographical scope and small sample size of their materials make statistical conclusions impossible. Wise’s sometimes have the quality of shifting back-of-the-napkin conjectures, “thought experiments” as he calls them, that after a few pages take on more concrete qualities, emerging in a form closer to census data.

But the big irony of the book is that his main conclusions might be totally invalidated by precisely the sort of “soft” cultural issue he and Harris seem

so uncomfortable with. This is because most ancient Jews do not seem to have learned scripture by reading it at all. Early Rabbinic sources consistently describe reading (*qr'*) as an act of reciting from memory rather than decoding signs on a page (Wise fleetingly acknowledges this on 352). Even more strikingly, as Rebecca Scharbach Wollenberg has recently shown in a landmark 2017 article ("The Dangers of Reading As We Know It: Sight Reading As a Source of Heresy in Early Rabbinic Traditions." *JAAR* 85: 709–45), Tannaitic literature like the Mishnah and Tosefta depict what Wise calls reading—the decoding of written documents to gather new information—as a suspicious and alien act, one fraught with hazards. They understood it as separate from learning or using scripture and often designated it with special terms other than *qr'*. Instead the Sages learned their sacred texts by hearing and repeating them, with scrolls serving as an important ritual icon and secondarily as a rather unreliable mnemonic aid.

Among the book's fascinating proposals is that Hever 13 actually represents a divorce initiated by the wife, which the publishers had not considered possible because of their assumptions about rabbinic divorce law. Wise lays out an elaborate and proverb-laden discussion on 174–177 (though leaving credit for the first scholar to actually make this argument, Tal Ilan, to the footnotes). But he does not note perhaps the strongest historical argument for this possibility—that the right of women to initiate divorce is not merely an early Jewish tradition known from the 5th-century BCE Elephantine documents but was widely transmitted and durable enough to still be attested in the Cairo Geniza documents (Mordechai Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine: A Cairo Geniza Study*. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1980).

As a large-scale survey, it is not a crippling problem that the study does not meet the gold standard of epigraphy: first-hand personal examination of all the sources. But this may have led Wise to miss the single largest Greek documentary text yet to have been found in the Judean desert. For the text Wise refers to briefly as part of the Nabatean archive of X, p. Hever "nab" 6, is in fact an extensive and unique Greek legal document, with many previously unseen phrases, currently being published by Hannah Cotton (Cotton, pers. comm.). Failing autopsy, the book manuscript would have been saved from this omission if it had been edited or reviewed by someone truly up to date on the texts from the Judean Desert.

The book's presentation does a disservice to Wise's deep research and knowledge; it gives no sign of having been edited. His main results can be difficult to find because of the book's digressive structure and lack of cross-indexing (for example, it has no conclusion and all linguistic questions are referred in footnotes to "chapter 4," a 72-page treatment of "Epistolary Culture" where one has to guess, for example, where noun endings are treated). Nobody who is not already expert in the Judean Desert corpus could pick up and use it. The Anchor Bible statement that the series is "accessible to the educated nonspecialist" cannot be taken seriously.

But experts with all the texts at hand will find a treasure trove of new arguments and ideas (though lacking extended text citations or translations, the book is hard to use for who do not). Wise's description of data and method

are helpfully transparent, and therefore open up new questions. For example, his statistics rely on the theoretical assumption that a party will always sign their name in the language of the document if they are able to. This requires the assumption that language use in these cases is not a deliberate choice. This can be questioned: in fact, the distribution of Hebrew vs. Aramaic in the epistolary documents is more easily explained as language choice. The pattern is this: letters that include a titled official or a collective group as addressees are in Hebrew; letters that address only private individuals are in Aramaic (Sanders, forthcoming). In other words, as you might expect from the Bar Kokhba coinage, Hebrew functions as the high “public” sociolect of Aramaic. Wise has pushed the discussion forward by taking these possible conclusions about literacy as far as they can go, itself an encouragement to consider alternative explanations and different assumptions.

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